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# DATE OF RGVEDA

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*To*

*F. E. Pargiter and S. N. Pradhan*

*whose researches have proved a  
source of inspiration to the author*

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृहयेत्

## A B B R E V I A T I O N S

AIORI	=	Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute
Ai Br	=	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Anandashram)
AIHT	=	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
Bd	=	Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
Bh	=	Bhāgavata
Bhāg	=	Bhāgavata
Br	=	Brahmapurāṇa
Brđ	=	Bṛhaddevatā
Br Devata	=	„
Brhadd	=	„
CAI	=	Chronology of Ancient India by Pradhan
Hr	=	Harivaṃś'a
Hv	=	„
Mbh	=	Mahābhārata
Mat	=	Matsyapurāṇa
Mt	=	„
PHAI	=	Political History of Ancient India
Rām	=	Rāmāyaṇa
RV	=	Ṛgveda
Vā	=	Vāyupurāṇa
Vy	=	„
Vṣ	=	Viṣṇupurāṇa

## CONTENTS

Ch One Synchronisms	1
Ch. Two Rs's	13
Ch. Three Conclusions	75
Index of Rs's	95

Please refer to p. 93 where important corrections and additions are given.



## *Preface*

By establishing certain synchronisms, it has been shown, here, that out of 1128 hymns of *Ṛgveda* 774 hymns have been composed during Rāma-period i.e. during the period covered by those five generations which would be represented by Rāma Dāsarathi and four generations just preceding him. Out of the remaining hymns 48 are composed during Pre-Rāma period 101 during Post-Rāma period, 23 during Mahābhārata period and 82 are doubtful or unassigned. A study of all the Ṛṣis has been made, one by one, Maṇḍala-wise and an attempt has been made to fix up the chronological position of each and every Ṛṣi of the *Ṛgveda*.

The results, at present, are meant to be tentative. Only points are noted and no attempt at elaboration is made. If a second edition is called forth attempt will be made to check up and verify all the references (which has not been possible now) and to elaborate the points which are merely noted now.

However, the conclusions reached here, show (1) that it is possible to assign more than 90 per cent hymns of the present *Ṛgveda* to definite periods (2) that the present *Ṛksamhitā* is a collection of hymns composed by the Aṅgīrā family or those

families which were intimately related by marriage ties with the Aṅgirā family, (3) that these Vedic Ṛṣis had connections with the kings of both the Solar and Lunar branches and therefore Pargiter's hypothesis that the *Ṛgveda* originated with the Mānavas etc is incorrect, and (4) that the extent of Aryan settlement in the Ṛgvedic days was from Tibet to the Narmadā and from Surāṣṭra and Punjab to Assam

It is regretted that owing to the inconvenience of the Press, uniformity in types is not maintained. The symbols R, PR etc are printed in italics as well as in ordinary types but they mean the same thing. On pp. 84-5 names have had to be printed without diacritical marks

Vallabhvidyānagar

Via Anand

24-1-52

D. R. MANKAD

*N. B.* Whoever writes anything about this book is requested to send a copy of his writing to the author



## CHAPTER ONE

### SYNCHRONISMS

AS is well-known, along with the *Ṛgveda* are preserved *Anukramaṇīs*. These have preserved for us the names of the ṛṣis i.e. the composers of the various hymns of *Ṛgveda*. For every sūкта or hymn, the *Anukramaṇīs* give the name of its ṛṣi and there are about 400 such ṛṣis. If we can know when these ṛṣis lived, we can know the time of the composition of the *Ṛgveda*. In the following pages I shall try to fix the chronological position of each of these ṛṣis and thus try to arrive at the age when these sūktas were composed.

For this purpose, I shall first establish certain synchronisms and then take up ṛṣis, one by one, and apply the results of these synchronisms to them.

I shall start with a story which Pargiter<sup>1</sup> has narrated thus:<sup>2</sup>

1. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 157 ff.
2. *Mbh* 1, 104, XII, 343, *Bd* III, 74, 3.—46; *Bhag.* IX, 20, 36.8 twice in *Va.* 99, 36-46, 141—50 and *Mat* 48, 32-42; 49, 17-26

"There were two rishis Bṛhaspati and his elder brother, who is called Ucathya in the *Vedārthadīpikā* (on RV. VI. 52) and *Bṛhaldēvalā* (iv, 11-15), Utathya in the *Mahābhārata* Uśija in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Matsya* and Aśija or Asija (but sometimes Uśija) in the *Vāyu*. Utathya is a very common variant for Ucathya, and Aśija a mistake for Uśija. These are therefore two distinct names, Ucathya and Uśija, and it will be shown further that Ucathya is the correct name of this rishi. He had a wife Mamatā, and their son was Dirghatamas, who was born blind. Bṛhaspati is said to have consorted with her and his son was Bharadvāja. That there was a rishi Dirghatamas Aucathya Māmateya 'son of Ucathya and Mamata who was blind is proved by the *Rigveda* and that there was also a rishi Bharadvāja son of Bṛhaspati is asserted by *Sarvānukramani* in ascribing many hymns in book VI to him.

"This story continues with Dirghatamas.<sup>1</sup> He lived in his paternal cousin's hermitage, whom the Purāṇas apparently call Saradvant, but indulged in gross immorality or misbehaved towards the wife of the younger Autathya (Aucathya)<sup>2</sup> Hence he was expelled and set adrift in the Ganges. He was carried downstream to the eastern Ānava kingdom and was there welcomed by king Bali. This incident finds support in the *Rigveda* (I, 154, 3-5) where he speaks

1. *Va*, 99, 32; *Bd* III, 74, 94, *Mat* 48, 83, 4; *Brhadd* IV, 15

2 *Mat* says Gautama but this seems a misreading as the sequel shows. *Va* 65, 101 and *Bd* III, 1, 106 say Saradvant was Utathya's son.

of having been delivered from bodily hurt and from dangers in the rivers. There Dīrghatamas married the queen's Sūdrā nurse and had Kakṣivant and other sons; and at Balī's desire begot on the queen Sudeśṇā five sons Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, who were called the Bāleya kṣatra and also Bāleya brahmanas. This is strange yet not improbable for brahmanas did render such services. Afterwards he gained his sight and assumed the name Gotama or Gautama."

Pradhan relates<sup>1</sup> the last portion thus, which is correct, Pargiter's version being loose and less exact.

"In the *Mahābhārata* (1, 113 ch) it is related in interesting detail that the Ṛgvedic ṛṣi Dīrghatamā Māmateya, after being thrown into the Ganges was rescued by the Kṣatriya king Vali who took the ṛṣi to his house and, according to the custom of Niyoga then prevalent in the Aryan society, requested the ṛṣi to raise progeny in the queen. The queen disliked the old poet, but being afraid of her husband ordered her maid servant to go to the poet (whom Brhaddevatā calls Usik). Accordingly the famous Kakṣivant, the author of *Ṛgveda* I, 116-126 etc. was born. Being apprised of the fact that the queen did not go to the ṛṣi, the king Vali ordered her again to approach him. This time the queen obeyed and Aṅga and other brothers were born."

I must add that according to this story Brhaspati approached Mamatā, the wife of Utathya, when

1. *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 208.

she was pregnant<sup>1</sup> Already she bore a child by Utathya. This was Dirghatamā. And both Dirghatamā and Bharadvāja were born of Mamatā, after Bṛhaspati cohabited with her Therefore Dirghatamā may be called Autathya and Māmateya and Bharadvāja may be called Bārhaspatya and Māmateya Pradhan has also shown<sup>2</sup> that in the *Ṛgveda* Bharadvāja calls himself Vājineya and this would mean that Mamatā had another name Vājini

This establishes that there were two ṛṣis Bharadvāja and Dirghatamā, both brothers, born of the same mother but of two different fathers. That this story is historically true is proved by the fact that both these are authors of Ṛgvedic hymns<sup>3</sup> and both are referred to as such in the *Sarvānukramanī* and in the hymns themselves<sup>4</sup>.

Now Bharadvāja in his compositions says that he had received gifts from a king named Divodāsa,<sup>5</sup>

1. In the *Purāṇas* and *Mbh* referred to in a foot note earlier.

2. *CAI* p. 7 see *Rv*, VI, 26, 2

त्वां वाजी हवन्तं वाजिनयो सहो वाजस्य राधस्य सातौ ।

त्वा वृत्रेष्विन्द्र सत्पतिं तरुत्रं त्वां चष्टे मुष्टिहा गोषु युध्यन् ॥

3. Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya is the author of *Rv*, VI, 1—14; 16—30; 37—43; 53—74; IX, 67 (1—3); X, 137 (1)

Dirghatamā is the author of *Rv*, 1, 140—164. Incidents of this story seem referred to in *Rv*.

4. In VI, 73, 1—3 Bharadvāja says 'Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa is my father'—बृहस्पतिगङ्गिसः पिता नः Dirghatamā mentions himself in I, 147, 3; 152, 6; 158, 1 etc.

5. Bharadvāja refers to Divodāsa in VI, 16, 5; 16, 19; 18, 13; 26, 5; 61, 1; acc. to *Mbh* XIII, 30, Bharadvāja became Divodāsa's purohita. Same statement is made in *Pañcuvimsa's Brahmanā* (5, 3, 7).

who is described as Atithigva. Let us, therefore, see who this Divodāsa was and when he flourished.

Pradhan has admirably shown that Divodāsa, who is often called Atithigva in the *Ṛgveda* was the same as Divodāsa, the king of Kāśī. He has shown how the Kāśī king Divodāsa is described in the Purāṇas as the son of Vadhryasva and how even in *Ṛgveda* this Divodāsa is called the son of Vadhryasva.<sup>1</sup> According to *Ṛgveda* this Divodāsa won a decisive victory over Sambara.<sup>2</sup> Now *Āmāyaṇa* also records this fight in the following verses.

पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे राजर्षिभिः पतिः

आगच्छत् त्वामुपादाय देवराजस्य साह्यकृत् ॥ 9, 11

दिशमाख्याय कैकयी दक्षिणा दण्डकान् प्रति ।

वैजयन्तमिति ख्यात पुर यत्र तिमिध्वजः ॥ 12

स शम्बर इति ख्यातः शतमाथी महासुरः

It is said here that Daśaratha went as an ally of Devarāja (Divodāsa) in a battle against Sambara. This Sambara's personal name was Timidhvaja. He ruled in the Dandakā forest, with his capital at Vaijayanta. It was, by the way, in this battle that Daśaratha had given two boons to Kaikeyi.

1. *Vā*, 99,200; *Hv* I, 32, 70. *Vs* IV, 19, 16. *Vāyu* says (99,200).

वध्र्यश्वान्मिथुन जज्ञे मेनकायामिति श्रुतिः ।

दिवोदासश्च राजर्षिहृत्या च यशस्विनी ॥

*Rv* refers to Vadhryas'va being the father of Divodāsa in VI, 61,1 thus:

इयमदाद्रभसमृण्व्युत दिवोदास वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे ।

2. Practically in every Maṇḍala, this is referred to in the Indra-hymns. See particularly VI Maṇḍala.

This shows that Divodāsa, who is famous in the *Ṛgveda* for his battle with Sambara was a contemporary of Daśaratha, the father of Śrī Rāma.

This contemporaneity of Divodāsa and Daśaratha is supported by the fact, as is shown by Pradhan, that Māyāvati the wife of Sambara was the sister of Mandodarī the wife of Rāvana,<sup>1</sup> who was Daśaratha's contemporary

According to the *Purāṇas*, this Divodāsa had a sister named Ahalyā, who was purified by Śrī Rāma.<sup>2</sup> This also proves that Divodāsa was Daśaratha's contemporary. Again this Ahalyā was married to Saradvant, who was the cousin of Dīrghatamas as has been said earlier. And Dīrghatamā's brother Bharadvāja was Divodāsa's purohita. Therefore also Daśaratha and Divodāsa were contemporaries.

In Rāmāyana, it is stated that Pratardana, the king of Kāśī came to greet Rāma on the occasion of his coronation. (VII, 38, 15). This Pratardana was the son of Divodāsa. Therefore also, Divodāsa and Daśaratha were contemporaries.

Again, Rāma going on his exile had stayed for a night at the Ashrama of this Bharadvāja at Prayāga. (*Rām*, II, 89th, 23). In *Rām* he is called devapurohita, and all the commentators explain this

1. *Skandapurana* VI, 13

2. *Br.* 123, 100, *Va.* 99, 201, *H.* I, 32, 71; *At* 15, 8; *Bh* IX, 21, 34. *Vs* IV, 19, 26

as his being the son of Bṛhaspati, who was deva-purohita. Thus, this also supports the same synchronism.

This establishes that Divodāsa was a contemporary of Daśaratha the father of Śrī Rāma.

Now just as Bharadvāja received gifts from Divodāsa, so did he receive gifts from a king named Prastoka.<sup>1</sup> This Prastoka is described as the son of Śrñjaya.<sup>2</sup> Since Bharadvāja received gifts from Divodāsa and Prastoka, these two were contemporaries.

Again, we know that the winner of the Dāśarājna battle was Sudās, the son of Pijavana.<sup>3</sup> Pijavana was the son of Śrñjaya.<sup>4</sup> And Śrñjaya, the father of Pijavana and Prastoka, was the son of Devavata.<sup>5</sup> Thus Prastoka was the uncle of Sudās.

Therefore, Divodāsa, Sudās and Prastoka were Daśaratha's contemporaries. So also, Bharadvāja who received gifts from these, was Daśaratha's contemporary. Naturally, therefore, Dirghatamā, the brother of Bharadvāja, also was Daśaratha's contemporary.

1. See. Bharadvāja in VI, 47, 22 says: Prastoka has given me ten gold purses and ten horses what Atithigva won by defeating Sambara, we have received (that) from Divodāsa. Rcā is

प्रस्तोक इन्नु राधमस्त इन्द्र दशकोशयोर्दश वाजिनोऽदात् ।

दिवोदामादत्तिथिग्वस्य राधः शास्त्रर वसु प्रत्यग्रभीष्म ॥

2 See: सार्वजयस्य प्रस्तोकस्य दानस्तुतिः० Sāyana on VI, 47, *Br Devatā* also calls प्रस्तोक as सार्वजय V, 124.

3. *Rv* VII, 18 25; See *CAI* p. 83 ff.

4. *Hr* 1, 32, 77; *CAI* p. 84 ff.

5 अथ यः सृजये पुरो दैववाते समिध्यते । युमां अमित्रदमनः ।

*Rv*, VI, 15, 4 also *Rv* VII, 18, 25.

Now, I shall talk of some other important synchronisms.

In the Paurava branch of the Candravamśa, there was a king named Matināra. He had a son named Tamsu and a daughter named Gauri. This Tamsu had married Yama's daughter Ilini. By her Tamsu had a son named Dharmanetra. Dharmanetra had a son by Upadānvi, named Duṣyanta.<sup>1</sup>

Matināra's daughter Gauri was married to Yuvanāśva of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty. Yuvanāśva had, by Gauri, a son named Māndhātā.<sup>2</sup> Thus we get the following table.

1. Matināra	
2. Tamsu (by Ilini d. of Yama)	2. Gauri m. to Yuvanāśva
3. Dharmanetra (by Upadānvi)	3. Māndhātā
4. Duṣyanta	

Now in the family of Turvaśa (of the Candra Dynasty), there was a king named Karandhama, whose

1 Vy. 99, 119—169; Mt 49, 1—13; Hr I, 32, 1 ff.

2 मतिनासुताश्वासंक्षयः परमधार्मिकाः ॥ Hr I, 32, 2 ff

तंसुराद्यः प्रतिरथः सुबाहुश्चैव धार्मिकः ।

गौरी कन्या च विख्याता मान्धातुर्जननी शुभा ॥ ३

गौरी कन्या तृतीया च मान्धातुर्जननी शुभा Mt I 49, 8



son was Marutta<sup>1</sup> *Purāṇas* record about this Marutta that he had adopted Paurava Duṣyanta.<sup>2</sup>

In the Vaisālā line there was another Marutta. His father was Avikṣit, and grandfather was Karandhama. This Karandhama had a priest named Aṅgiras. This Aṅgiras had two sons Bṛhaspati and Saṁvarta. Marutta Āvikṣit requested Bṛhaspati to be his priest, but the latter refused saying he was already the Purohita of Indra. Therefore, Saṁvarta became the priest of Marutta. Later, Marutta married his daughter to Saṁvarta.<sup>3</sup>

Bṛhaspati as we have seen, had a brother Utathya. This Utathya's wife Mamitā, as we have seen, gave birth to Bharadvāja and Dirghatamā. Now, Duṣyanta had by Sakuntalā, a son named Bharata. This Bharata was coronated (Aindra Ma' ābhīṣeka) by Dirghatamā.<sup>4</sup> Later this Bharata adopted Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya as his son.<sup>5</sup> This Bharadvāja's son Vidatha or Vitatha

1. *AIHT* p 106 ff; *Vy* 99, 1—6; *Bd* iii, 74, 1 ff; *Mt* 48, 1—5; *H* I, 32 116 ff

2. दुष्यन्त पौरवं चापि लेभे पुत्रमकल्मषम् ॥ *Hr* I, 32, 120

3. *AIHT*, p. 157, *Vy* 86, 9—11, *Bg* IX, 2, 26—8; *Mbh* XIII, 137

4. *Astareya Brahmanṇa*. 39, 9

5. *Vy* 99, 137—40, *Mt* 49, 14—15; *AIHT* p. 159

तेन ते मरुतस्तस्य मरुत्सोमेन तुष्टुदुः ।

उपनिन्युभरद्वाजं पत्रार्थं भरताय वै ॥ *Mt* 49, 29

दायादोऽङ्गिरसः सूनोरौरमस्तु बृहस्पतेः

म कामिता भरद्वाजो मरुद्भिर्भरतं प्रति ॥ ३०

succeeded Bharata on the throne. Bharadvāja himself never occupied the throne. This table will be as under.

4. Duṣyanta	4. Aṅgiras
5. Bharata	5. Bṛhaspati
6. Bharadvāja	6. Bharadvāja 6. Dirghatamā
7. Vidatha	

Now, as we have seen, Dirghatamā, after he retired became Gotama or Gautama. His cousin Saradvant was also a Gautama. This Saradvant had married Ahalyā, who was purified by Rāma. Ahalya's descent is as under.

In Paurava family, there was a king named Ajāmiḍha. This Ajāmiḍha, by Nilini, had a son named Sānti. Sānti's son was Susānti. Susānti's son was Purujānu. Purujānu's son was Trksa, whose son was Bhṛmyasva. Bhṛmyasva's son was Mudgala. This Mudgala had married Indrasenā, the daughter of Nala Naiṣiḍha (famous Nala of Nalopākhyāna). Mudgala had Vadhryasva as his son and this Vadhrya va, as we have seen, had, by Menakā a son named Divodāsa and a daughter named Ahalya.<sup>1</sup> The table will stand thus:

1. See *CAI* p. 1 ff. It is amply shown there how Indrasenā was the daughter of Nala.

Ajāmidha	
S'nti	
Susānti	
1. Puru ānu	1. Motināra
2. Trkṣa	2. T'ṃsu
3. Bhṛmyasva	3. Dharmanetra
4. Mudgala	4. Duṣyanta
(by Indrasenā)	
5. Vadhryasva	5. Bharatā
(by Menakā <sup>1</sup> )	
6. (Bharadvāja)	
6. Divodāsa	6. Ahalyā m. to Saradvant.
	6. Dirghatama

Now, Māndhātā, the son of Gauri had a brother named Haryasva<sup>2</sup> Haryasva's son was Yadu. Yadu's son was Mādhava, whose son was Satvat and Satvat's son was Bhīma. This Bhīma, according to the express statement of Harivamśa was a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathi.<sup>3</sup> This table will stand under:

1. It is not impossible if this Menakā was also the mother of Sakuntalā
2. See my paper Śrī Kṛṣṇa's family—Solar or Lunar' in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda* Vol I, No I, Hr II. 38.
3. राज्ये स्थिते नृपे तस्मिन्नामे राज्यं प्रशासति ।

शत्रुघ्नो लवणं हत्वा चिच्छेद स मधोर्वनम् ॥ Hr II, 38, 39

1. Matināra

|

---

Taṁsu

2. Gauri—

|

3. Mandhātā ... ..

3. Haryasva

|

4. Yadu

|

5. Mādhava

|

6. Satvat

|

7. Bhīma

---

## CHAPTER TWO

### ṚṢIS

(their chronological position)

“—but when hymns are ascribed to truly historical ṛṣis, none are earlier than Vis'vāmītra.” *AIHT* p. 312 Pargiter

In this chapter, I shall consider the case of each of the ṛṣis and try to fix up their chronological position. In so doing I shall assign the ṛṣis to one of the following periods: (1) Rāma-period = *R*, (2) Pre-Rāma-period = *PR*, (3) Post-Rāma period = *PRP*, (4) Mahābhārata period = *Mbh*. Some cases I shall mark as doubtful (= *D*) and some cases I shall leave unmarked meaning that there is no indication to assign them to any of the above periods. In Chapter III, Note 1, I have explained the terms Rāma-period etc.

For the sake of convenience and economy of space, I have not started with the First but with the Second Maṇḍala. I have placed the First Maṇḍala before the Tenth.

Details about a ṛṣi are given in that Maṇḍala, where his name occurs first. If he occurs in subsequent Maṇḍalas also he is not treated there. I have noted the numbers of all the sūktas composed by a particular ṛṣi, against his name where it occurs first

An alphabetical Index of all the ṛsis is put at the end of the Volume.

\* \* \*

## M A Ṇ Ḍ A L A II

1. Gṛtsamada: (II, 1-3; 8-26; 30-43. IX, 86. 46-48.) R

Regarding Gṛtsamada I quote Pradhan (*chronology of Ancient India* p. 27):

“Now it is stated in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII, 30, 58-59) that the son of this Bnārgava Vitahavya was that famous Gṛtsamada whose appearance was like that of Indra and who was assaulted by the Daityas who thought him to be Indra himself. It is stated that his compositions preserved in the *Ṛgveda* were among the very best.

“From the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyāna, Sāyaṇa quotes (on II, 1) “that Gṛtsamada who was the son of Sunahotra of the Āṅgiras family and who entered the Bṛgu family by being a Saunaka saw the second Maṇḍala.”

“It is related in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (IV, 66-69) that Gṛtsamada having applied himself to austerity, looked like Indra. Then two Daityas of terrible prowess, Dhuni and Cumuri, thinking him to be Indra himself, fell upon him, armed. Then being aware of their intention, the ṛsi glorified Indra who being pleased by the hymns of Gṛtsamada killed the two Daityas... Gṛtsamada is also described in the *Bṛhad-*

*devatā* (IV, 78) as the son of Sunahotra and as a Bnārgava in the *Sāṅkhavāna Brāhmaṇa* (XXII, 4).

“From the *Ṛgveda* we collect the following points about Gr̥tsamada.

(i) Gr̥tsamada was the son of S'unahotra (II, 41, 14 and 17).

(ii) He mentions Sambara as having been found in the mountains after a long search of forty years. (II, 12, 11).

(iii) He speaks of Sambara's hundred very old cities as having been rent by Indra (II, 14, 16).

(iv) He says that Indra rent the ninety-nine cities of S'ambara in favour of Divodāsa (II, 19, 6).

(v) He says that the two Asuras Cumuri and Dhuni were killed by Indra in favour of the royal seer Dabhitī and that even the door-keeper of Dabhitī obtained the enemies' gold. (II, 15, 9)."

Thus we find that Gr̥tsamada knew of the exploits of Divodāsa. He, in his hymns refers to Sambara, Devodasa, Dhuni, Cumuri and others. Therefore, he was either a contemporary of Divodāsa or a little later than him.

Sunahotra, the father of Gr̥tsamada was the son of Bharadvāja, the son of Br̥haspati.

For these reasons Gr̥tsamada belongs to Ramt-period <sup>1</sup>.

## 2. Kūrma (II, 27, 28, 29). R.

1. For explanation see ch three, Note one.

In the *Anukramanī* this Kūrma is called the son of Gr̥tsamada

3. Somāhuti Bhārgava (II, 4—7) R.

As Gr̥tsamada, though originally an Āngirasa, had become a Bhārgava, this Somāhuti, whose four hymns are included here, was a descendent of Gr̥tsamada. He refers to 'Gār̥tsamadān' in II, 4,9 and therefore, seems to belong to Rāma-period.

N. B. Thus all the three ṛṣis of this Māṇḍala belong to Rāma-period and therefore all the hymns (43 in all) were composed during Rāma-period.

\* \* \*

### M A N Ḍ A L A III

1. Viśvāmītra Gāthīnah (III, 1-12; 24-32; 33, 1-3, 5, 7, 9, 11-13; 34; 35; 36, 1-9, 11; 37-53; 57-62 IX, 67, 13-15; X, 137, 5) R.

Viśvāmītra, the author of these hymns was, according to the *Anukramanī*, the son of Gāthī. In the Puraṇas his father's name is spelt as Gādhi. Gādhi's father was Kuśanābha and Kuśanābha's father was Kusa. Therefore, Viśvāmītra is often called Kauśika.

He is a famous ṛṣi. In *Rāmāyana* he is connected with Daśaratha and Rāma. In *Autareya Brāhmaṇa* he is connected with Hariścandra and R̥ṣita (33, 4 p. 896). In the *Purāṇas* he is connected with Satyavrata Trisanku, the father of Hariścandra.



(Hr I, 13). In *Ṛgveda* he calls himself a contemporary of Sudās Pañjavana (III, 53, 9-11) and refers to Sambara in III, 47.4.

Thus he belongs to Rāma-period.

It is possible to argue that all these hymns may not be by the same Viśvāmitra. It is true that there have been more than one person of the same name. But the *Anukramanīs* always distinguish between such persons. Atri is called simply Atri, Atri Bhauma and Atri Sāmikhya. Bṛhaspati is distinguished as Bṛhaspati Āngirasa and Bṛhaspati Laukya. And generally it is the practice to name a ṛṣi as the son of so and so. This Viśvāmitrā is called Viśvāmitra, the son of Gāthi. Atri is called Atri Bhauma i. e. the son of Bhūmi. Bharadvāja is called Bārhaspatya.

We know of only one ṛṣi named Gṛtsamada and only one ṛṣi named Vāmadeva and therefore there should be no difficulty in taking them to be the authors of the hymns which are ascribed to them.

Viśvāmitra, the son of Gāthi is also one. In many of the hymns ascribed to this Viśvāmitra, Kusikas are mentioned. Internal style also shows the author to be the same for several hymns. For instance 12 hymns—30-32, 34, 36, 38, 39, 43, 48-50—end with the same ṛca Sūnam huvema.....Sañjītam dhanānām.

Thus all the hymns ascribed to Viśvāmitra are likely to be his.

To Vasīṣṭha are ascribed 102 hymns out of 104. But internal evidence for common authorship is,

here, clear. In 85 out of 102 hymns, the remain at the end of the hymn is *yūyam pāta svastibhih sadā nah*. And *Vaśiṣṭha* is distinguished as *Mutrāvaruṇa*. Thus these 102 hymns are also by one and the same author.

2. *Ṛṣabha Vaiśvāmītra* (III, 13, 14; IX, 71) *R*.

He is the son of *Vaiśvāmītra Gāthina*.

3. *Kata Vaiśvāmītra* (III, 17-18) *R*

He is also the son of *Vaiśvāmītra*

4. *Utkila Kātya* (III, 15-16) *R*.

He is the son of *Kata* above.

5. *Gāthi Kauśika* (III, 19-22) *R*.

*Gāthi* or *Gāthi* as noted above is *Vaiśvāmītra*'s father.

6. *Devavāta Bhārata* (III, 23, jointly with *Devasravā Bhārata*) *R*.

*Devavāta* as we have seen in Ch. I, is the father of *Sṛñjayā* (the father of *Prastoka*) and *Pijavana* (the father of *Sudās*). As we have seen both *Sṛñjaya* and *Sudās* were the contemporaries of *Divodāsa*. Therefore this *Devavāta* belongs to *Rāma*-period.

*Devavāta* is described as the son of *Bharata*. It is said that *Bharata* had three sons *Devavāta*, *Devasravā* and *Aśvamedha*. Who this *Bharata* was is not known, but it seems almost certain that the *Bhāratas* who are often referred to in the *Ṛgveda* are the descendents of this *Bharata* and not the descendents of *Bharata Daśyanti*. *Bharata*, the son of *Duśyanta* had no son and he had adopted *Bharadvāja* as his son.

Thus Bharata's descendents are Devavāta, Devaśravā, Asvamedha (his sons); Sṛñjaya (his grandson), Prastoka, Sahadeva and Pijavana (his great grandsons) and Sudās Pijavana (his great great-grandson). It seems that even Divodāsa was related in some manner to Devavāta (CAI p 86ff) And all these kings—Devavāta, Asvamedha, Sṛñjaya, Prastoka, Sahadeva, Sudās and Divodāsa had patronised Ṛgvedic ṛṣis like Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja. They themselves are the authors of Ṛgvedic hymns.

7. Devaśravā Bhārata (III, 23, jointly with Devavāta Bhārata) R.

He is the brother of Devavāta above.

8. Ghora Āngirasa (III, 36, 10 only one ṛcā) R.

Who this Ghora was is not known. As he is a joint author with Viśvāmitra Gāthinaḥ he must have been his contemporary, most probably a senior contemporary.

Kaṇva, the author of RV I, 36-43; IX, 94 is called Ghaura i. e. the son of Ghora. He seems to be the son of this Ghora. Again Pragātha Kāṇva is the author of VIII, 1, 1-2; 10, 48; 62-65. About him Sāyaṇi (on VIII, 1) says that he was the son of Ghora Āngirasa and thus was a younger brother of Kaṇva. But as Kaṇva later adopted him, he i. e. Pragātha came to be known as Pragātha Kāṇva (see Pragātha),

Now Kāṇva Ghaura refers to Medhyatithi who is his son and Medhyatithi refers to Sudās in VIII, 33, 3

Thus Ghora belongs to Rāma-period.

9. Prajāpati Vaiśvāmītra (III, 38; 54-56; IX, 101, 13-16) R

He seems to be a son or a descendent of Visvāmītra. He is a joint author of IX, 101 with Andhigu Syāvāśva, Yayāti Nāhuṣa, Nahuṣa, Mānava and Manu Samvarana and all these are contemporaries (see further ch. III, Note 2). If so he belongs to Rāma-period as Andhigu the son of Syāvāśva definitely belongs to this period. However see these ṛṣis also.

10. Prajāpati Vācyā (III, 38; 54-56; IX, 84; 101, 13-16) R.

Who this ṛṣi was is not known, He is the son of Vāk. Vāk, the daughter of Ambhṛna is the authoress of X, 125. See Prajāpati Vaiśvāmītra and for reasons mentioned under Prajāpati Vaiśvāmītra, this Prajāpati also may belong to Rāma-period.

It is also likely that there was no Prajāpati Vaiśvāmītra.

11. Kusika Aśiratha (III, 31) R. He refers to Saramā (6) and Āṅgirā.

N. B. All the ṛṣis (10) and all the hymns (62) in this Maṇḍala belong to Rāma-period.

## MAṆḌALA IV

1. Vāmadeva Gautama (IV, 1-17; 18, 2-3, 8-13; 19-41; 45-48).

“Vāmdeva was a well-known Āṅgīrasa rishi as the genealogy says. (Vā, 59, 90, 101; Mṛ. 145, 104; 196, 4, 35-6.) Hymns ascribed to him show he was

a 'Gautama' and refer to Dirghatamas (IV, 4, 13)." (AIHT, p. 222).

In *Rāmāyana* it is clearly stated that Vāmadeva was Daśaratha's ṛtvik see, ऋत्विजौ द्वावभिमतौ वसिष्ठा वामदेवश्च (I 6 4.) Vāmdeva is often mentioned in *Rāmāyana*.

In his hymns Vāmdeva refers to Sambara (IV, 26, 3) Divodāsa (IV, 26, 3; IV, 30, 20), Sṛjāya Daivavāta (IV, 15, 4), Somaka Sāhadevya (IV, 15, 1-10), Kutsa Ārjuneya (IV, 26, 1, IV, 30, 4), Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa (IV, 40 1) Kakṣivanta (IV, 26, 1) and Rjīsvā Vaidathin (IV 16, 15-18),

Kakṣivanta is the son of Dirghatamas and Rjīsvā is the son of Vidatha, the son of Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya. Both these are Ṛgvedic ṛṣis.

Thus Vāmdeva belongs to Rāma-period (IV, 18 is supposed to be jointly by Vāmdeva, Indra and Aditi)

2. Trasādasyu Paurukutsyan (IV, 42; V, 27; IX 110) R

Trasādasyu is called the son of Purukutsa According to *Purāṇas* Purukutsa was the son of Māndhātā, the famous Aikṣavāku king, by his wife Bindumatī. Māndhātā belongs to Rāma-period. (See Māndhātā) But Sāyaṇa, at one place, has called Purukutsa to be the son of one Durgaha. He relies on the following rcā.

अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन्सप्तऋषयो

दौर्गहे बध्यमाने ।

ते अयाजन्त त्रयदस्युमस्या इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमर्धेवम् ॥ IV, 42, 8.

Here he explains 'daurgah' by 'daurgahasya putrah'. Elsewhere (V, 33, 8) Purukutsa is called Gairikṣit i. e. son of Grikṣit (?). I have doubt about these interpretations of Sāyaṇa.

I note the following for the chronological position of this Trasadasyu, who is a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi. Purukutsa is referred to in the *Ṛgveda* by Kutsa Āngiras (I 112, 7) and Agastya (I, 174, 2). Trasadasyu is referred to by Vasiṣṭha (VII, 19, 3), Sadhvaṁsa Kāṇva (VIII, 8 21), Sobharī Kāṇva (VIII, 19, 36), Syāvāśva (VIII, 36, 7; VIII, 37, 7) and Paktha (VIII, 50, 10). Trasadasyavas are referred to by Sobharī (VIII, 19, 32, VIII, 20, 2 and 8).

Lastly, Trasadasyu is a joint author of RV. V, 27 with Trayyāruṇa Traivṛṣṇa and Aśvamedha the son of Bharata. Now Trayyāruṇa is the grand father of Harīṣcandra and is directly connected with Viśvāmitra Gāthīnah (Hr. I, 13). Bharata the father of Aśvamedha is also the father of Devavāta, the author of RV III, 23.

Thus Trasadasyu belongs to Rāma-period.

3 Ajamilha Sauhotra (IV, 43-44. jointly with Purumilha, which see) R or PR

4 Purumilha Sauhotra (IV, 43-44, jointly with Ajamilha Sauhotra.) R or PR

In the Purāṇas Ajamilha and Purumilha are brothers and are named as the sons of Hastin. In one place Hastin is called the son of Suhotra. Ajamilha, according to the Purāṇas, is some seven steps higher than Divodāsa.

One Purumilha is said to have been a contemporary of Syāvāsva (Śayana on V, 61). There, Purumidha is called a brother of Taranta from whom Syāvāsva received gifts.

One Purumilha is referred to by Dīghatamā (I, 151, 2) and Agastya (I, 183, 5).

As Purumilha and Ajamilha are joint authors here, they are those who are put by the Purāṇas at the seventh step above Divodāsa. Therefore, in our language both of them will belong to Pre-Rama period. However see Purumilha Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 7 ).

N. B.—All the ṛṣis of this Maṇḍala except Ajamilha and Purumilha, who have composed two hymns, belong to Rāma-period and therefore 46 out of 48 hymns are composed during Rāma-period. Ajamilha and Purumilha are not far removed from Vāmadeva and they may even belong to Rāma-period (See Purumilha Āṅgīrasa).

## MAṆḌALA V

In this Maṇḍala, I have put ṛṣis of the same family first and then others, thus:—Ātreyaś 1—36 (+ 1 = 37); Āṅgīrasas 37 — 38; others 39 — 49.

1. Atri Bhauma ( V, 37 — 43; 76 — 77; 83 — 86. IX, 67, 10 — 12; 86, 41 — 45. X, 137,4 ) R

*Anukramaṇī* differentiates between two Atris—this Atri and Atri Sāmkhya the author of X, 143. *Purāṇas* put one Atri as the mānasa son of Svāyambhuva Manu. This Atri was the father of Soma, whose grandson the famous Pururavas was.

Next is this Atri Bhauma i. e. Atri the son of Bhūmi. This Atri refers to Kakṣivanta in V, 41,5 and therefore belongs to Rāma-period. He is also a joint author in IX, 67 and 86, with six other ṛṣis for which see Ch III. Note 2. In X. 86 he is joint author with Gṛtsamada, which makes him his contemporary. According to *Rāmāyaṇa* he had his Ashrama just on the outskirts of the Daṇḍakā forest and Rāma had stayed at his Ashrama for a night just before entering the Daṇḍakās. His wife was the famous Anasūyā. His position is thus fixed.

Sitā is called Bhaumi Naraka or Kāmarūpa is also called Bhauma. I have suggested elsewhere (see my *Puranic chronology* p. 225 ff) that this Naraka was the son of Janaka by a nurse named B'ūmi and therefore likely to be Sita's brother. Can this Atri be the son of the same Bhūmi?

2. Budha Ātreya (V, 1 jointly with Gaviṣṭhira Ātreya) R

The author of X, 101 is called Budha Saumya i. e. the son of Soma. Therefore this Budha who is called Ātreya is distinct from Budha the son of Soma and father of Pururavas. This Budha Ātreya is a joint author with Gaviṣṭhira and as Gaviṣṭhira (which see) belongs to Rāma-period, this Budha also belongs to Rāma period.

One Budha is mentioned in *Rāmāyaṇa* as a contemporary of Marutta Āvikṣit, who belongs to Rāma-period. This Budha ruled in Bāhli country, was the son of Prajāpati Kardama and had a son



named Sasabindu. He later settled in Madhyadeśa. ( *Rām* VII. 87,3 )

3 Gaviṣṭhira Ātreya ( V. 1 jointly with Budha Ātreya. ) R

In *Purāṇas* Gaviṣṭhira is called a son or a descendent of Dutta Ātreya. Dutta Ātreya was a contemporary of Sahasrārjuna Kārtavīrya, i. e. of Parasurāma Bhārgava *AIHT* p. 229. Therefore Gaviṣṭhira belongs to Rāma-period.

It is likely if Budha and Gaviṣṭhira were brothers.

4. Kumāra Ātreya ( V, 2 jointly with Vṛṣa Jāna. ) R

Sāyana on V, 2, quoting from *Sāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa* and *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* gives the following story

There was a king Tryaruna Traivṛṣṇa Aikṣvāka. His Purohita was Vṛṣa Jāna. Once when Trvaruna was going out in a chariot, Vṛṣa drove the chariot. Kumāra who was playing on the road was killed by the chariot. So the question arose who was responsible for the death, the owner or the driver of the chariot. They referred the question to the 'Iksavākus' and their verdict was that the driver was responsible. So Vṛṣa, by Vṛṣa Sāma, revived Kumāra. In *Tāṇḍya* Vṛṣa is called Trasadasyu's Purohita.

All this means that Kumāra Ātreya was a contemporary of Vṛṣa Jāna, Trayyāruṇa and Trasadasyu. In the *Sūkta* (V. 2,7) Sunahśepa is referred to

Thus Kumāra Ātreya belonged to Rāma-period.

5. Vasuśruta Ātreya (V, 3-6) *PRP*<sup>1</sup>

6. Iṣa Ātreya (V, 7-8) *PRP*.

7. Gaya Ātreya (V, 9-10) *PRP*.

8. Sutambhara Ātreya (V, 11-14) *PRP*.

He refers to Aṅgiras in V, 12,6.

9. Puru Ātreya (V, 16-17) *PRP*

10. Dvita Ātreya (Mṛktavāhā (V, 18) *PRP*.

11. Vavri Ātreya (V, 19) *PRP*

12. Prayasvat Ātreya (V, 20) *PRP*.

13. Sasa Ātreya (V, 21) *PRP*.

14. Viśvasāmā Ātreya (V, 22) *PRP*.

14a Dyumna Viśvacarṣanī Ātreya (V, 23) *PRP*.

15. Vasuyū Ātreya (V, 25, 26) *PRP*

16. Viśvavārā Ātreya (V, 28) *PRP*

17. Babhru Ātreya. (V. 30) *R*

He refers to Namuci (V, 30, 8) and Ṛṇāñcaya (V, 30, 12-14). Ātareya Brāhmaṇa calls him Babhru Daivavṛdha and makes him a contemporary of Somaka the son of Sahadeva. Sahadeva was the uncle of Sudās Pañjavana. Ṛṇāñcaya made him his priest (Brd, V, 33)

18. Avasyu Ātreya (V, 31 and 75) *R*

1. These are the descendents of Atri. I have placed them in *PRP*, but some of these may belong to *R* also. None of these belongs to *PR*.

He refers to Kutsa and Suṣṇa ( V, 31, 7-9 )

19. Gātu Atreya ( V, 32 ) R

He, too, refers to Suṣṇa ( V, 32, 4 )

20. Sadāprṇa Ātreya ( V, 45 ) R

Refers to Saramā and Angirāḥ. Saramā lived in the days of Ayāśya ( See Saramā ) who belongs to Rāma-period

21. Pratikṣatra Ātreya ( V, 46 ) PRP

22. Pratiratha Ātreya ( V, 47 ) PRP

23. Pratibhānu Ātreya ( V, 48 ) PRP

24. Pratiprabha Ātreya ( V, 49 ) PRP

25. Svastyātreyaḥ ( V, 50-51 ) R

According to the *Purāṇas* (AIHT p 229) they are the sons of Prabhākara Ātreya. This Prabhākara had married ten daughters of a king named Bhadrāsva or Rudrāsva, who was two steps above Matināra.

26. Syāvāsya Ātreya ( V, 52-61; 81-82; VIII, 35-38; IX, 32 ) R

Sayana ( on V, 52 ) and *Bṛhaddevatā* give details of Syāvāsya's life. The story narrates how Syāvāsya was attracted by the daughter of king Rathaviti Dārbhya, how he practised penance, how he met the king Taranta, his wife Sasīyasi and brother Purumilha and how he ultimately married Rathaviti's daughter

Syāvāsya refers to Sudās ( V, 53, 2 ) Trasadasva ( VIII, 36, 7 ) and Purumilha ( V, 61, 7 ) This Purumilha was his contemporary.

In the *Purāṇas* Syāvāśva is called a son or a descendent of Lutta Atreya and Dutta Atreya was a contemporary of Harihaya Sahasrārjuna.

Thus Syāvāśva belongs to Rāma-period

27. Arcanānā Ātreya ( V, 53, 64; VIII, 42 ) R

Arcanānā is the father of S'yāvāśva ( See Sāyaṇa on V, 52 )

28. Srutavit Ātreya ( V, 62 ) PRP

29. Rātahavya Atreya ( V, 65, 66 ) PRP

30. Yajata Ātreya ( V. 67; 68 ) PRP

31. Urucakri Ātreya ( V, 69; 70 ) PRP

32. Bahuvṛkta Ātreya ( V. 44, 12; 71; 72 ) PRP

33. Paura Atreya ( V, 73, 74 ) PRP

34. Saptavadhri Atreya ( V, 78 ) R

He was made a priest seven times by Aśvamedha Bhārata ( which see ) ( Brd V, 83 )

35. Satyaśravā Atreya ( V, 79, 80 ) PRP

36. Evayāmarut Ātreya ( V, 87 ) PRP

37. Dharuṇa Āṅgīrasa ( V, 15 ) PRP

38. Prabhuvasu Āṅgīrasa ( V, 35; 36. IX, 35-36 ) PRP

39. Aśvamedha B'ārata ( V, 27, jointly with Tryarūpa and Trasadasyu.) R

See Devavāta Bhārata,

40. Gaurivīti Śāktya ( V, 29; IX, 108-1-2.) R

He is the grandson of Vasiṣṭha and the son of Sakti Vāsiṣṭha.

41 Vṛṣa Jāna (V, 2 jointly with Kumāra Atreya)  
R

See Kumāra Atreya.

Trasadasyu Paurukutsya (see Maṇḍala Four, ṛṣi  
No 2) R

42 Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa (V, 27 jointly with  
Trasadasyu. IX, 110) R

His name is also spelt as Trayyāruṇa. In the  
*Purāṇas* his son is called Satyavrata and Trisanku  
(*Hr* I, 11-12) *Purāṇas* give a story describing how  
for an offence Satyavrata was banished by his father,  
how he lived with the Cāṇḍālas, how he maintained  
the family of Viśvāmitra, how later he got the  
throne and how Viśvāmitra sent him to 'Svarga'

He was a contemporary of Trasadasyu and is  
thus at Rāma-period.

43. Bandhu Gaupāyana or Laupāyana (V, 24,  
X, 57-60 jointly with Subandhu, Srutabandhu and  
Viśvābandhu) R

They are called Gaupāyanas or Laupāyanas

Sāyaṇa quotes from *Laupāyana Brāhmaṇa* thus  
(on X, 57, 1).

“असमातिं राथप्रौष्ठं गौपायनं अभ्यगम्यन्तं खाण्डवे सत्रमासताथ  
हासमातौ राथप्रौष्ठे किलाताकुली ऊपतुगसुरमाथौ त ए स्मान्मौ निधा-  
यौऽन पचतोऽमौ मासमथासुरात्रं दध्वेक्ष्वाकवः परावभूवुः । तमममातिं  
गौपायनानामाहुतथोऽभ्यतपन् सोऽब्रवीदिमौ किलाताकुली इमा वै मा  
गौपायनानामाहुतथोऽभितपन्तीति तावब्रूतां तस्य वा आवामेव भिषजौ  
स्व आवां प्रायश्चित्तगवा तथा करिष्यावो यथा न्वेता नाभितपन्तीति ।  
तौ परेत्य सुगन्धौगौपायनस्य स्वपतः प्रमत्तस्यासुमाहुत्यान्तः परिधि  
न्यथत्ताम् इत्यादि.

That is, these were the priests of Asamāti the son of Rathapraustha. This king also made Kīlāti and Akuli as his priests. They killed one of these four. The other three recited this Sūkta (X, 57) then.

In X, 55, 6 and X, 57, 7 they refer to Bṛhaduktha. Bṛhaduktha (which see) was the son of Vāmadeva.

Therefore, these four belong to Rāma-period

In X, 60, Agastyasvasā is said to be the author of 6th ṛcā, and Anukramani says that this sister of Agastya was the mother of these four.

44. Subandhu Gaupāyana or Laupāyana see Bandhu Gaupāyana R

45. Sṛutabandhu Gaupāyana or Laupāya see Bandhu Gaupāyana. R

46. Vasu (or Visva) bandhu Gaupāyana or Laupāyana see Bandhu Gaupāyana. R

47. Saṁvaraṇa Prājāpatya (V, 33, 34). R

He refers to Trasadasyu (V, 33, 8), and Vidatha (V, 33-9).

Vidatha was the son of Bharadvāja. Thus he belongs to Rāma-period,

48. Avatsāra Kāśyapa (V, 44) R

Purāṇas call him son of Kāśyapa. He is, according to the Purāṇas brother of Arundhati who was married to Vasiṣṭha.

V. B. Out 49 ( + 1 already mentioned under IV Maṇḍala = 50) ṛsis of this Maṇḍala 22 belong to Rāma-period and 28 to post-Rāma-period.<sup>1</sup> Thus out of 87 hymns, 42 belong to Rāma-period and 45 to post-Rāma period.

## MAṆḌALA VI

1. Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya ( II, 1-14, 16-30; 37-43; 53-74; 15 ( or by Viṭahavya Āṅgīrasa ) IX; 67, 1--3 ) R

This Bharadvāja is the son of Bṛhaspati about whom we have already talked much. He was a contemporary of Divodāsa and Dīśaratha. He has composed 58 out of 75 hymns of this Maṇḍala

He refers to Divodāsa ( VI, 16, 5; 16, 9; 18, 13; 26, 5; ) Sambara ( VI, 18, 8 ), Ṛjśvā his own grandson ( VI, 20, 7 ), Purukutsa ( VI, 20, 10 ), Dibhiti ( VI, 20, 13 ), and others

He belongs to Rāma-period

2. Garga Bhāradvaja ( VI, 4 ) R

According to *Anukramanī* and the *Purāṇas* ( *AIHT* p. 222 ) he is the son of Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya

3. Pāyu Bharadvaja ( VI, 75; IX, 87 ) R

He is the son of Bharddvāja ( *AIHT* p. 222 ) *Bṛhaddevatā* ( V, 126 ) records how, when Abhyāvartī Cayamāna and Prastoka Sārñjaya were defeated by the Vārasīkhas. Bharadvāja asked his son Pāyu to sacrifice for them.

1. Several of these are likely to belong to Rāma-period.

4. Ṛjīśvā Vaidathina ( VI, 49-52. IX, 98, 108, 6-7.) R.

Vidatha the son of Bharadvāja succeeded Bharata Dauṣvanti. Ṛjīśvā was the son of this Vidatha. Thus he was Bharadvāja's grandson.

5. S'āmyu Bārhaspatya ( VI 44-48 ) R

He was the son of Bṛhaspati and brother of Bharadvāja. ( *AIHT* p. 222 ).

6. Suhotra Bhāradvāja ( VI, 31; 32 ) R

He was Bharadvāja's son, ( *AIHT*, p. 222 ) He refers to Divodāsa, Sambara and Bharadvāja in VI. 31, 4. He also refers to Kutsa and Suṣṇa (VI. 31, 3)

7. Sunahotra Bhāradvāja ( VI, 33. 34 ) R

He was Bharadvāja's son ( *AIHT* p. 222 ) and the father of Gr̥tsamada.

8. Nara Bhāradvāja ( VI. 35, 36 ) R

He was Bharadvāja's son and refers to him in VI, 35, 4,

9. Vitahavya Āngīrasa ( VI, 15 or Bharadvāja Barhāspatya ) R

We know of Haihaya Vitahavya who became a Bhargāva ( *AIHT* p. 201, *CAI* p. 26-7 ). But this Vitahotra is called Āngīrasa

However in VI, 15. 3 Agni is requested to give happiness to Vitahavya and Bharadvāja both. And in ( VI, 15. 2 ) Bṛguṣ are mentioned in connect on with Vitahavya. It is therefore, very likely that Haihaya Vitahavya is meant here



Therefore, he belongs to Rāma-period.

N. B. All the ṛṣis ( 9 ) and all the hymns ( 75 ) belong to Rāma-period.

## M A Ṇ Ḍ A L A VII

1. Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇa ( VII, 1-32; 33. 1-9; 34-104. IX, 67, 19-21; 90; 97, 1-3. ) R

Like Viśvāmitra Vasiṣṭha is a well-known ṛṣi. He is connected with Daśaratha, Rāma and many other kings. In *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* it is said that he was a priest along with Vṣvāmitra, Ayāśya and Jamadagni at the sacrifice of Hariścandra. (33, 4 p. 896)

In the *Ṛgveda* he is the author of 102 out of 104 hymns of this Maṇḍala. He refers to Sudās Pañjavana in VII, 18, 23, Dāśarājna battle in VII, 33, 3; 33, 5; 83, 8, Jamadagni in VII, 97, 3, Divodāsa in VII, 18, 25. Parāśara mentioned in VII, 18, 21 is his grandson.

He belongs to Rāma-period

2. Sakti Vāsiṣṭha ( VII, 32, 26-27; IX, 97, 19-21, 108, 3, 14-16. ) R

According to *Purāṇas* and other sources he was the son of Vasiṣṭha.

3. Vasiṣṭhaputrāḥ ( VII 33, 10-14 jointly with Vasiṣṭha ) R

This refers to the sons of Vasiṣṭha.

4. Kumāra Āgneya ( VII, 101-102 ) or Vasiṣṭha Doubtful.

N B Three ṛṣis and all the hymns (104) belong to Rāma-period. One ṛṣi is doubtful.

## M A N Ḍ A L A VIII

In this Maṇḍala, I have put ṛsis of the same family first and then others, thus:- Kāṇvas 1-32; Āṅgirasas 33-47; Ātreyas 48-49 and others 50-71.

1. Medhātithi Kāṇva (I, 12-23; VIII, 1, 3-29;  
2. 1-42; 32 IX, 2; 41; 42; 43.) R

Refer to Ghora Āṅgirasa and Kāṇva Ghaura. Medhātithi was the son of this Kāṇva (*AIHT* p. 225). He refers to Sudās in VIII, 12,5.

- 2 Medhyātithi Kāṇva (VIII, 1. 3-29; 3; and 33-IX, 41-43) R

Brother of Medhātithi (*AIHT* p. 225 ff)

- 3 Devātithi Kāṇva (VIII, 4) R

Brother of Medhātithi (*CAI* 62)

- 4 Brahmātithi Kāṇva (VIII, 5) R

Son of Kāṇva Ghaura and brother of Medhātithi (*CAI* p. 62).

- 5 Vatsa Kāṇva (VIII, 6; 11.) R

Probably a son of Kāṇva Ghora. He refers to Pajra (VII, 6,47) who is the same as Dirghatmā the father of Kakṣivanta. Pargiter (*AIHT*, p. 223) considers him to be distinct from Kakṣivanta Dirghatamas because he did not know about the contemporaneity of Duṣyanta and Divodāsa, although he puts Pajra after Dirghatamas.

In any case Vatsa who refers to Pajra belongs to Rāma period

## 6. Punarvatsa Kāṇva ( VIII, 7 ) R

He refers to Kaṇva ( VIII, 7, 18 ), Kāṇvas ( VIII, 7, 19 and 32 ).

## 7. Sadvamsa Kāṇva ( VIII, 8 ) R

He calls himself putrah Kaṇvasya in VIII. 8, 4 and 8. He refers to Priyamedhas ( VIII, 8, 17 ), Kanva and Medhātithi ( VIII, 8, 20 ) and to Trasadaśyu ( VIII, 8, 21 ).

## 8. Śśakara Kāṇva ( VIII, 9 ) R

According to Sāyaṇa ( VIII, 9 ) he is the same as Vatsa Kaṇva.

He calls himself Vatsa in VIII, 9, 6 etc.

He refers to Kakṣivān, Vyasa, Dirghatamā and Vainya in VIII, 9, 10.

## 9. Pragātha Kāṇva ( VIII, 1, 1-2; 10; 48; 62-65 ). R

As is mentioned under Ghora Angirasa, he is the son of Ghora and brother of Kāṇva Ghora, but being adopted by his brother Kaṇva became Kāṇva. ( See Sāyaṇa on VIII, 1 ).

## 10 Parvata Kāṇva ( VIII, 12; IX, 104; 105 jointly with Nārada Kāṇva ) R

He seems to be the son of Kaṇva. But in the *Purāṇas* he and Nārada are called the sons of Kāṣyapa. It is likely that Kāṇva Ghora had become a Kāṣyapa ( CAI 62 ). *Anukramanī* calls them Kāṣyapas in IX, 104 and 105. ( See Kāṇva Ghaura )

According to the *Purāṇas* Nārada the brother or uncle of Parvata gave his sister Arundhatī to

Vasiṣṭha in marriage. Arundhati is well-known as the wife of Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇa.

11. Nārada Kāṇva (VIII, 13; IX, 104; 105 jointly with Parvata Kāṇva) R

See Parvata Kāṇva.

12. Goṣūkti Kāṇva (VIII, 14; 15 jointly with Aśvasūkti Kāṇva.) R

He refers to Namuci (VIII, 14,13), Āngiras (VIII 54, 8,) As Namuci was a contemporary of R̥ṇiñcaya (which see), this author belongs to R̥āṇi-period.

13. Aśvasūkti Kāṇva (VIII, 14, 15, jointly with Goṣūkti Kāṇva) R

See Goṣūkti, who is evidently the brother of this ṛṣi.

14. Irimbh̥ṭhi Kāṇva (VIII, 16-18) PRP

15. Sobhari Kāṇva (VIII, 19-22; 103) R

He refers to Trasadasyu in VIII, 19, 36 and says that Trasadasyu gave him fifty wives अदान्मे पौरुकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं त्रसदस्युर्वधूनाम् ।

16. Nipātithi Kāṇva (VIII, 34, 1-15;) jointly with Sahasram Vasurociṣah Āngirasa) R

Brother of M-dhātithi (CAI p. 62) He refers to Kāṇvas (VI.1, 34.1; 4)

17. Nābhāka Kāṇva (VIII, 39-42) R

He refers to Suṣṇa in VIII, 40, 10-11 and seems to refer to Māndhātā (VIII, 39,8; 40,12).

18. Trisoka Kāṇva (VIII, 45) PRP

He refers to Turvaṣa, Yadu (45,27)

19. Praskanva Kāṇva (I, 44-50; VIII,49; IX, 95) R

He refers to Nipātithi (VIII, 49, 1), Priyamedha (I, 45, 3-4), Sudās (I, 47,6) and to R̥j.sva (VIII,49,10).

20. Puṣṭigu Kāṇva (VIII,50) PRP

21. Sṛṣṭigu Kāṇva (VIII, 51) PRP

22. Āyu Kāṇva (VIII, 52) PRP

23. Medhya Kāṇva (VIII, 53; 57; 58) R

He refers to Kutsa and Atithigva in VIII, 53, 2.

24. Mātariśvā Kāṇva (VIII, 54) R

He refers to Samvarta and Kṛṣa in VIII, 54, 2 and to Praskanva in 54, 8. Samvarta is naturally Bṛhaspati's brother and Bharadvaja's uncle.

25. Kṛṣa Kāṇva (VIII, 55) R

Mātariśvā Kāṇva evidently refers to this Kṛṣa (VIII, 54, 2) and thus he belongs to Rāma-period.

26. Pṛṣadhra Kāṇva (VIII, 56) R

According to Pargiter (*AIHT* p. 169), he was a contemporary of Dasyave-vṛka (VIII, 56, 2). This Dasyave-vṛka, according to Pargiter was the son of one Pūtakrata (VIII, 56, 2 and 4). This Pūtakrata, according to him was the son of Asvamedha and a contemporary of Indrota son of Divodāsa (VIII, 68, 15-16-17).

27. Suparṇa Kāṇva (VIII, 59) PRP

28. Bharga Prāgātha (VIII, 60, 61) R

Son of Prāgātha Kāṇva.

29. Kali Prāgātha (VIII, 66) R

Son of Pragāthā Kāṇva.

30. Haryata Prāgātha (VIII, 72) R

Son of Pragātha Kāṇva.

31. Kurusuti Kāṇva (VIII, 76-78) PRP

32. Kusidin Kāṇva (VIII, 81-83) PRP

33. Priyamedha Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 2, 1-40; 68; 69; 87; IX, 28) R

He is a joint author of VIII, 2 with Brahmāti-thi. Sons of this Priyamedha acted as priests of Aṅga the son of Balī (CAI p. 69) who had patronised Dīrghatamas. Priyamedha refers to Indrota the son Divodasa (VIII, 68, 15 and 17).

34. Sahasram Vāsurocīṣah Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 34, 16-18 jointly with Nīpatīthi) R

35. Virūpa Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 43; 44; 75) R

Pargiter mentions one Virūpa as one of the successors of Nābhāga, the son of Manu according to Vy 88. 5 ff; Mt 12. 20 ff. In X Muṇḍala there are hymns by the sons of Virūpa. One of them Sataprabhedana refers to Dabhīti, Dhuni and Cumuri (X, 113).

36. Puruhanmā Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 70) PRP

37. Sudīti Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 71 jointly with Purumilha Āṅgīrasa, which see) R

38. Purumilha Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 71 jointly with Sudīti Āṅgīrasa) R

This Purumilha is called Āngirasa. The joint authors of IV, 43-44 Ajamilha and Purumilha are called the sons of Suhotra. One Suhotra Āngirasa is the author of VI, 31-32 and is the brother of Sunahotra Āngirasa, the father of Gṛtsamada. If this Suhotra Āngirasa had the sons named Ajamilha and Purumilha, they can be called Sauhotra.

Thus Ajamilha and Purumilha the authors of IV, 43-44 and Purumilha the author of this hymn may be the sons of this Suhotra. Then they belong to Rāma-period,

### 39. Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa ( VIII, 85-87 ) R

According to *Anukramanī* the author of 85 may be Kṛṣṇa or his son Viśvaka. The hymn has a refrain ता वां विश्वको हवते in 1, 2, 3. Similarly for 86, according to the *An. kram. anī* the author is either Dyumnika Vāsiṣṭha or Kṛṣṇa or Priyamedha. Word Dyumni occurs in 86, 1. 86. 3 clearly says 'Priyamedha invokes'.

40 Viśvaka Kārṣṇī (VIII, 86) R. See Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa.

41. Nṛmedha Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 89; 90; 98; 99, IX, 27; 29 jointly of all these with Puraṣamedha Āṅgīrasa) R

He refers to Sambara in VIII, 99, 5, and is therefore at Rāma-period.

It is likely that these two and Priyamedha were brothers.

42. Puruṣamedha Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 89; 90; 98; 99; IX, 27; 29 jointly of all these with Nṛmedha Āṅgīrasa, which, see.) R

43. Srutakakṣa Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 92) PRP

44. Sukakṣa Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 92, 93) PRP

45. Bindu Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 94; IX, 30) PRP

Anukramaṇi says that the author of VIII, 94 may be Pūṭadakṣa Āṅgīrasa. In VIII, 94 author is often referred to as Pūṭadakṣa

46. Pūṭadakṣa Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 94) PRP

47. Tīrāści Āṅgīrasa (VIII, 95, 96) R

He refers to Suṣṇa in VIII, 96, 15)

48. Gopavana Ātreya (VIII, 73, 74) R

He refers to a king Srutarvā, the son of Ṛkṣa (VIII, 74, 4 and 13). He was a contemporary of Vadhryasva, the father of Divodāsa. According to *Mahābhārata* (III, 98) Agastya went for gifts to Vradhnāsva (=Vadhryasva=Divodāsa's father), Trasadasyu Paurukutsa and the king Srutarvan. (CAI p. 155).

49. Apālā Ātreya (VIII, 91) R

She is called the daughter of Atri (Brd).

50. Āsaṅga Plāyogi (VIII, 1, 30-33) R

He was a contemporary of Medhātithi and Pra-gāthā Kāṇva, which see.

51. Śāsvati (VIII, 1, 34) R

She is the wife of Āsaṅga Plāyogi, which see.



52. Viśvamanā Vyaśvaputra (VIII, 23-26) PRP

He refers to Uśanā Kāvya (VIII, 23, 1)

53. Manu Vairvasvata (VIII, 27-31) PR

He is the father of Īkṣvāku and founder of the Solar dynasty.

54. Kṛśvapa Mārica (I, 99; VIII, 29; IX, 64, 67. 4-6; 91: 92; 113; 14. X, 137, 2) PR

According to *Purāṇas* he is the father of Vivasvat, the father of Manu.

55. Vaśa Āsvya (VIII, 46) PRP

56. Trita Āptya (I, 105; VIII, 47; IX, 33; 34; 102; X, 1-7) PR

According to *Anukramāṇī* the author of I, 105 is either Trita or Kutsa Āngirasa. The *sūkta* refers to Trita as the author.

57. Matsya Sāmmada (VIII, 67 or Mānya Maitrāvaruṇa, which see) D

58. Mānya Maitrāvaruṇa (VIII, 67 or Matsya Sāmmada) R

Agastya is called Mānya i. e. the son of Māna and also Maitrāvaruṇa. Can he be this ṛṣi?

59. Santivadhri (V, 78; VIII, 73) R See V, 78

60. Kṛṣṇu Bhārgava (VIII, 79) PRP

61. Ekadyu Nodhā (VIII, 80) R

He is the son of Nodhā Gautama, which see.

62. Uśanā Kāvya (VIII, 84; IX, 87; 88; 89) PR

*Purāṇas* call him the same as *Sukrācārya* the famous priest of the *Daityas*

63. *Dyumnika Vasiṣṭha* (VIII, 87) *PRP*

64. *Nodhā Gautama* (I, 58-64; VIII, 88; IX, 93). *R*

He refers to *Sambara* (I, 59. 6), *Purukutsa* (I, 63, 7) and *Śudās* (I, 63, 7).

65. *Dyutāna Māruta* (VIII, 96) *PRP*

According to the *Auukramani* the author is either this or *Tiraści Āṅgīrasa*

66. *Rebha Kāśyapa* (VIII, 97) *R*

*Pargiter* says that he was the brother of *Nidhrūva* *Kāśyapa*, which see.

67. *Nema Bhārgava* (VIII, 1000, 1-3, 6-12) *PRP*

68. *Jamadagni Bhārgava* (III, 62, 16-18; VIII, 101; IX, 62; 66, 67, 6-8; X, 137) *R* Father of *Parasurāma*.

69. *Prayoga Bhārgava* (VIII, 102) *PRP*

70. *Pāvakāgni Bārhaspatya* (VIII, 102; X, 140) *D*

He may be the son of *Bṛhaspati*, but the name looks doubtful. He is also named as *Yaviṣṭha Saṇasaṇ Putrah*

71. *Gṛhapati Saṇasaṇ Putrah* (VIII, 102) *D*

*Syāvāsva Atreya* (VIII, 35-38) *R*

*Arcanānā Atreya* (VIII, 42) *R*

Out of  $71 + 2 = 73$  ṛṣis, 4 belong to Pre-Rāma period, 46 to Rāma-period. 20 to Post-Rāma period and 3 are doubtful. Out of 103 hymns 8 belong to

Pre-Rāma period, 68 to Rāma-period and 27 to Post-Rama period.

## M A N Ḍ A L A IX

Order is thus; Āṅgīrasas 1-16; Vaisvāmitras 17-19, Āgas—  
tyas 20-21, Kāśyapas 22-26; Vāsiṣṭhas 27-35; others 36-56

1. Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgīrasa (I, 31-35; IX, 4; 69) R

He refers to Āṅgīras (I, 31, etc.), Pururavas (I, 31, 4.), Kutsa (I, 33, 14). As he refers to Kutsa he belongs to Rāma-period.

2. Gotama Rāhugana (I, 74-93; IX, 31; 67, 7-9; 107) R

The author of IX, 37-38 is Rāhugana Āṅgīrasa. He is a joint author of IX. 107 with the other six ṛṣis Bhardvāja, Kāśyapa Atri Bhṛuma. Visvāmitra Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha. He should, therefore, be at Rāma-period, See ch III, Note 2. According to Sat. Br (Vedic Index I, 436) Gotama Rāhugana was the priest of one Māthava Videgha.

3. Rāhugana Āṅgīrasa (IX. 37-38) R

He seems to be the father of Gotama Rāhugana.

4. Bṛhanmātī Āṅgīrasa (IX, 39-40;) PRP,

5. Ayāśya Āṅgīrasa (IX, 44, 46; 67; X, 67, 68) R

In *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (33, 4) it is noted that Ayāśya acted as one of the priests at Haris'chandra's sacrifice. तस्य ह विश्वामित्रो हेतासीज्जमदाग्रध्वुर्वासष्ठो ब्रह्मायास्य उद्गाता.

6. Ucathya Āṅgīrasa (IX, 50-52) R

He is the father of Dirghatamā. As noted under Māṇḍlātā, Ucathya was his Purohita.

7. Amihayu Āṅgīrasa (IX, 61) R

He refers to Divodāsa and Sambara (IX, 61. 2)

8. Harimanta Āṅgīrasa (IX, 72) PRP

9. Pavitra Āṅgīrasa (IX, 73: 83) PRP

10. Vasu Bhāradvāja (IX, 80-82) PRP

11. Kaṇva Ghaura (I, 36-43; IX, 94) R

He is the son of Ghora Āṅgīrasa (see Ghora and Pragātha) It is this Kaṇva who seems to have adopted Kāśyapa Gotra and thus he would be called Kāśyapa also. Parvata and Nārada are two ṛṣis (VIII. 12 and 13; IX, 104; 105). Sāyaṇa calls them 'Kānvau', but Kātyāyana under IX, 104 calls them 'Kāśyapau'. This would mean that their father was known as Kaṇva as well as Kāśyapa. Purāṇas also call Parvata and Nārada to be of Kāśyapa Gotra<sup>1</sup>

This Kaṇva is likely to be that Kaṇva in whose Ashrama Śakuntalā was brought up. Genealogies support this.<sup>2</sup> Kaṇva, being Ghora's son, was a nephew of Br̥haspatī, whose son was Bharadvāja. Bharadvāja was a contemporary of Duṣyanta. Again, Bharadvāja's patron was Divodāsa, whose mother's name was Menakā. She could have been the mother of Śakuntalā also. So Śakuntalā can be a younger contemporary of Kaṇva

1. See Vy, 70, 80

2. Pradhan has already suggested this, (CAI, 62) though he has given no grounds for it.

Now, in the play *Sākuntala*, the king Duṣvanta in a speech addressed to Kāśyapa Marica (in VII Act) says Kanva is 'Yuşmatsagotra' i. e. belonging to your Gotra. This preserves the tradition that Kanva belonged to Kāśyapa Gotra.<sup>1</sup> That would mean that Kanva, though originally an Āṅgīrasa, had later, become a Kāśyapa. Such changes of Gotra are known to us as in the case of Gṛtsamada and others. Thus Kanva originally was an Āṅgīrasa. His sons (and their descendents) born before he took to Kāśyapa Gotra would be called Kānvas and those sons (and their descendents) born after he became Kāśyapa would be called Kāś'yapas.

12. Kusta Āṅgīrasa (I, 44-48; 101-5; IX, 97, 45-58) R

He refers, amongst others to Śambhara (I, 54, 8, I, 101, 2; 103, 8) to Kuyava (I, 103, 8; 104, 3), to Trasadasyu (I, 112, 14) to Kakṣivanta (I, 112, 11), and to Kutsa Ārjuneya (I, 112, 23).

13. Uru Āṅgīrasa (IX, 108, 4-5) R

Joint another with Śakti Vāsīṣṭha, Gaurivīti Śaktya and others and therefore at Rāma-period.

14. Ūrdhvasadmā Āṅgīrasa (IX, 108, 8-9) R

Joint another with Śakti Vāsīṣṭha, Gaurivīti Śaktya and others

15. Kṛtayaśah Āṅgīrasa (IX, 108, 10-11) R

1. In Mbh, sākuntalopākhyana, this Kanva is once called Kāś'yapa. (I, 73, 22-23), In Sākuntala in IV act Kanva is throughout called Kāśyapa,

Joint author with Sakti Vāsiṣṭha, Gauriviti  
S'āktya and others.

16. Sisu Āngirasa (IX, 112) *PRP*

17. Madhucchandāh Vaiśvāmītra (I, 1-10; IX, 1) *R*

He is the son of Viśvāmītra

18. Sunahśepa Ājigarta (I, 25-30; IX, 3) *R*

He was the son of Ājigarta and then adopted  
by Viśvamītra (A1 Br 33)

19. Reṇu Vaiśvāmītra (IX, 70; X. 89) *R*

One of the sons of Viśvāmītra.

20. Dṛl̥hacyut Āgastya (IX, 25) *R*

He was the son of Agastya according to the  
*Purāṇas* ( *AIHT* 239 )

21. Iddhavāha Dār̥lhacyut (IX, 26.) *R*

He is also spelt as Iddhavāhā. He is the son  
of Dṛl̥hacyut and grandson of Agastya ( *AIHT* 239 )

22. Asita Kāśyapa (IX, 5-7; 8-24, jointly with  
Devala Kāśyapa) *Mbh.*

According to *Purāṇas* ( *AIHT* 223 ) he was a son  
or a descendent of Kāśyapa or Kāśyapa. Devala  
was his son. Both Pargiter and Pradhan consider  
Dhaumya of the Mahābhārata as the brother of  
this Asita. Pradhāna puts Asita and Devala to be  
later than Vak Āmbhṛṇi ( *CAI* p. 162 ) and at  
*Mbh*-period.

23. Devala Kāśyapa (IX, 5-7; 8-25. jointly  
with Asita Kāśyapa, which see) *Mbh*

24. Avarsāra Vāsyaapa ( IX, 53-60 ) R

According to Purāṇas ( CAI p 90; Vy 70, 80 ) he was the brother of Arundhati, the wife of Vasiṣṭha and therefore belongs to Rāma-period.

25. Nidhruvi Kāsyapa ( IX, 63 ) PRP

He was later than Vāk Āmbhṛṇi ( CAI p 162 )

26. Rebhasunū i. e. two sons of Rebha ( IX, 99, 100 ) R See Rebha.

27. Indrapramiti Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 97, 4-6 ) R

*Purāṇas* say ( AIHT, 214 ) he was the son of Vasiṣṭha. In the hymn he is a joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

28. V ṣagaṇa Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 97, 7-9 ) R

Joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

29. Manyu Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 97, 10-12 ) R

Joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

30. Upamanyu Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 97, 13-17 ) R

Joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

31. Vyāghrapad Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 97, 16-18 ) R

Joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

32. Kṛṇṣrut Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 97, 22-24 ) R

Joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

33. Mṛṇka Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 97, 25-25 ) R

Joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

34. Vasukra Vasiṣṭha ( IX, 95, 28-30 ) R

Joint author with Sakti, Gauriviti and others.

35. Parāśara Śaktya (I, 65-73; XI, 97, 31-44) R

Son of Śakti and grandson of Vasiṣṭha (AIHT, p 212-3). Joint author with Śakti, Gauriviti and others (9)

36. Kavi Bhārgava (IX, 47-49; 75-79) PR

37. Bhṛgu Vārūni (IX, 65) PR

38. Vāikhānasāh (IX, 66) R

Vamru Vāikhānasa the author of X, 9<sup>o</sup> refers to Kutsa and Suśūa in X, 99, 9 and to Ṛjīsvā Ausija in X, 99 11.

39. Vatsapri Bhālandana (IX, 68; X, 45-46) PR

He refers to Bhṛgavaḥ (X, 46, 2). Purāṇas put Bhālandana as a grandson of Manu Vāivasvata and as a son Nābhāga

40. Kakṣivān Dairghatamasa (Ausija) (I, 116-125; 126, 1-5; IX, 74) R

He is the son of Dirghatamā by the maid servant (named Usij) of Sudeśṇā the queen of king Bali.

41. Vena Bhārgava (IX, 85) PRP

42. Akṛṣṭā Māṣā (IX, 86, 1-10; 31-40) D

Joint with Atri Bhauma and Gṛtsamada. Therefore this hymn is at Rāma-period, but this cannot be the name of the ṛṣi.

43. Śikatā Nivāvari (IX, 86, 11-20) D

Joint with Atri Bhauma and Gṛtsamada. Therefore at Rāma-period.

44. Ajāh Pṛṣṇiyah (IX, 86, 21-30) D



Joint with Atri Bhauma and Gr̥tsamada. Therefore at Rāma-period.

45. Pratardana Daivodāsi (IX, 96; 179, 2) R

He is the son of Divodāsa. He came to greet Rāma on the occasion of his coronation. (Ram, VII 38, 15). He was the king of Kaśi

46. Ambariṣa Vārsāgira: (I. 100; IX, 98) R

Of I, 100 he is a joint author with Ṛjraśva, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, Surādhas who are called the sons of Vṛsāgira. Of IX, 98 he is a joint author with Ṛjīśvā Bharadvāja.

47. Yayāti Nāhuṣa (IX, 101 jointly with Andhigu Syāvaśvi, Nahuṣa Mānava, Manu Sāmvaraṇa and Prajāpati Vaiśvāmītra or Vācya) R

48. Nahuṣa Mānava (IX, 101, jointly with Yayāti Nahusa ( which see ) and others ) R

49. Manu Sāmvaraṇa (IX, 101, jointly with Nahuṣa ( which see ) and others ).

50. Andhigu Syāvāśvi (IX, 101, 1-3 jointly with Yayāti Nāhuṣa and others) R

He is the son of Syāvāśva Ātreya ( which see ) and thus belongs to Rāma-period.

51. Dvita Āptya (IX, 103) D

52. Agni Cākṣuṣa (IX, 106, 1-3; 10-15)

Apparently the son of Cakṣu Mānava.

53. Cakṣu Mānava (IX, 106, 4-6)

Apparently the son of Manu Āpsava.

54. Manu Āpsava (IX, 106, 7-9)

55 R̥ṇaṇcaya ( rājarṣi ) ( IX, 108, 12-13 jointly with Gauriviti, R̥jisvā and others ). R

R̥ṇaṇcaya was a contemporary of Babhru Āterya ( Brd V, 33 )

56. Agnayah Dhiṣṇya Aṣvarayah ( IX, 109 ) D

57. Anānata Pārucchepi ( IX, 111 ) R

He is the son of Parucchepa the son of Divodāsa.

Following ṛṣis are already dealt with earlier. The figures outside the brackets indicate the Maṇḍala and the number of the ṛṣi, where he is dealt with. Figures in the brackets indicate sūktās composed by the ṛṣi.

1. Medhātithi VIII, 1 ( IX, 1, 3-29 )
2. Nṛmedha VIII, 35 ( IX, 27, 29 )
3. Priyamedha VIII, 36 ( IX, 28 )
4. Bindu VIII, 38 ( IX, 30 )
5. Syāvāsva V, 5 ( IX, 32 )
6. Trita VIII, 52 ( IX, 33, 34, 102 )
7. Prabhuvasu V, 45 ( IX, 35, 36 )
8. Medhyātithi VIII, 2 ( IX, 41-43 )
9. Jamadagni VIII, 66 ( IX, 62, 65, 67, 6-8 )
10. Kasyapa VIII, 50 ( IX, 64, 67, 4-6, )
11. ṛṣabha III, 2 ( IX, 71 )
12. Prajāpati Vācya III, 8 ( IX, 84; 101, 13-16 ).
13. Prajāpati Vaiśvāmītra III, 8 ( IX, 84; 101, 13-16 )

14. Uśanā VIII, 62 ( IX, 87,-89 )
15. Nodhā VIII, 61 ( IX, 93 )
16. Praskṇva VIII, 19 ( IX, 95 )
17. Vasīṣṭha VII, 1 ( IX, 67, 19-21: 90-97, 1-3 )
18. Śakti VII, 2 ( IX, 97, 19-21- 108, 3, 14-16 )
19. Parvata VIII, 10 ( IX, 104-5 )
20. Nārada VIII, 11, ( IX, 104-5 )
21. Ṛjivā VI, 4 ( IX 98, 108, 6-7 )
22. Tryaruṇa V, 8 ( IX. 110 )
23. Trasadasyu IV, 2 ( IX 111 )
24. Gauriviti V, 4 ( IX 1110 )
25. Gṛtsamada II, 1 ( IX, 86, 46-48 )
26. Viśvāmitra Gāthinah III; 1 ( IX, 67, 13-15 )
27. Bharadvāja VI, 1 ( IX, 67, 1-3 )
28. Pāyu VI. 3 ( IX, 8-7 )

N B. Out of 85 ṛṣis, 6 belong to Pre-Rāma period, to Post-Rāma period, 60 to Rāma period, 2 to Mbh period and 8 are doubtful. Out of 1 hymns 21 belong to Pre-Rāma period, 13 to Post-Rāma period, 56 to Rāma-period, 20 to Mbh period and 4 are doubtful.

### MAṆḌALA

1. Jetā Madhucchāndasa (I, 11) R

Son of Madhucchandasa and grandson of Viśva  
mitra.

2. Savya Āngirasa (I, 51-57) R

S. V. Q. College

He refers to Atithigva (I, 53, 8-10), Sambara (I, 54, 4), Kakṣivanta (I, 51, 13) and to Rjīsvā (I, 51, 5; 53, 8).

3. Rjīrāsva Vārṣāgira (I, 100 jointly with Ambariṣa (which see) and others. *R*

4. Sahadeva Vārṣāgira (I, 100 jointly with Ambariṣa (which see and others.) *R*

5. Bhayamāna Vārṣāgira (I, 100 jointly with Ambariṣa (which see) and others.) *R*

6. Sumedhā Vārṣāgira (I, 100 jointly with Ambariṣa (which see) and others.) *R*

7. Bhāvayavya (I. 126, 6) *R*. He was a contemporary of Kakṣivān (Brd III, 142 ff).

8. Romasā (I, 126, 7) *R*. wife of Bhāvayavya.

9. Parucchepa Daivodāsi (I, 127-139) *R*. Son of Divodāsa.

10. Dirghatamā Aucathya (I, 140-164) *R*

11. Pṛthu Vainya (I, 148) *PR*

12. Maruts (I, 165, 3-5-7-9) *D*

13. Agastya Maitrāvaruṇa (I, 165, 13-15; 166-169; 170, 2 and 5; 171-78; 179, 3-4; 180-91) *R*

This Agastya refers to Purukutsa in I, 174, 2. In I, 189 he calls himself 'Mānya', which is taken to mean 'Son of Māna'. Mānya Maitrāvaruṇa is the author of VIII, 67. He married Lopāmudrā, with whom he is a joint author of I, 179. It was by the blessings of this Lopāmudrā that Alarka the king of Kāśi got a long life (Mbh III, 25, 13; Vā 92, 67).

According to *Mbh* III, 98 Agastya approached Tras-alasyu, Srutarvan and Vradhnaśva (—Vadbryaśva?). Vasiṣṭha and Agastya both are called Maitrāvaruṇa. Were they brothers?

All this shows that he belongs to Rāma-period. Rāmāyana says that Rāma stayed for a night at Agastya's ashrama, which was about a krośa from Pañcavaṭī

14. Lopāmudra (I. 119, 1-2) R

Wife of Agastya Maitrāvaruṇa,

15 Agastyasiṣya (I, 119, 1-6) R

Following are the ṛsis who are dealt with earlier (Figures indicate the number of the Maṇḍala)

1. Madhucchandā Vaisvāmitra IX. 13

2. Medhātithi Kāṇva VIII, I

3. Sunahsepa Ājigarti IX, 15

4. Hiranyastūpa Āṅgīrasa IX, I

5. Kaṇva Ghaura IX, 8

6. Praskaṇva Kāṇva VIII, 19

7. Nodhā Gautama VIII, 61

8. Parāśara Śāktya IX, 32

9. Gotama Rāhugaṇa IX, 33

10. Kutsa Āṅgīrasa IX, 9

11. Trita Āptya VIII, 42

12. Kaksivan Daigbatamasa IX, 42

13. Kasyapa Marica VIII, 54

14. Ambarisa IX, 46

N B Out of 29 ṛṣis 3 belong to Pre-Rāma pīrod, 25 to Rāma-period and one is doubtful and thus out of 191 hymns 3 belong to pre-Rāma period and 188 to Rāma period

## M A Ṇ Ḍ A L A X

Order is thus, Āṅgīrasas 1-13, Bhārgavas 14-17, Vāsiṣṭhas 18-20, Vaiśvāmītrās 21-22; Yāmāyanas 23-29, Aindras 30-34 and others 46-169.

1. Saptagu Āṅgīrasa ( X, 47 ) *PRP*

2. Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa ( X, 71, 72 ) *R*

He is the father of Bharadvāja.

3. Sindhuṣṭ Prayamedha ( X, 75 ) *R*

Son of Priyamedha Āṅgīrasa.

4. Baru Āṅgīrasa ( X, 96 ) *PRP*

5. Divya Āṅgīrasa ( X, 107 ) *PRP*. or Dakṣiṇā  
Prājāpatyā *D*

6. Urdhvasadmā Āṅgīrasa ( X, 108, 8-9 ) *R*

See Saramā.

7. Bhikṣu Āṅgīrasa ( X, 117 ) *PRP*

8. Vihavya Āṅgīrasa ( X, 128 ) *PRP*

9. Sakapūta Nārmedha ( X, 132 ) *R*

Son of Nārmedha Āṅgīrasa.

10. Pracetā Āṅgīrasa ( X, 164 ) *PRP*

11. Samvarta Āṅgīrasa ( X, 172 ) *R (D)*

He was the brother of Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa and Purohita of Marutta Āvikṣit. Authorship doubtful.

## 12 Dhruva Āngīrasa ( X, 173 ) D

Authorship doubtful

Here, we must understand that those who are given in the Anukramanīs as the ṛṣis for different sūktas are not, in all cases necessarily the authors of those sūktas, though in most cases they are so. However, in some cases, I think, we can say that those who are named as authors are not the authors.

There are some monologues and dialogues in the R̥gveda. For instance X, 10 is a dialogue between Yama and Yamī and the Anukramanīs give Yama and Yamī as the ṛṣis: but it is certain that they are not the ṛṣis of that Sūkta. Sāyana often quotes the maxim.

यस्य वाक्यं स ऋषिर्वा तेन चोच्यते सा देवता । and thus the speaker of a hymn or of that ṛcā is given, in the Anukramanīs, as the ṛṣi of that hymn or of that ṛcā. This is a practice which is followed in the Anukramanī; but these dialogues are likely to have been composed by some ṛṣi, whose name was lost even then, and therefore the Anukramanīkāra has introduced the name of the speaker or speakers in his place.

Again, there are cases of another type. The ṛṣi of X, 138 is called Yakṣmanāśana Prājāpatya. Now when we see the contents of the hymn we find that it is a charm against the disease called yakṣma: and at once we come to know that the author's name was lost and a name was made out from the contents of the sūkta.

X. 96 has, according to the Anukramaṇi, Sarva-hari Āindra as the ṛṣi. But when we turn to the sūkta itself, we find the word 'Hari' repeated 50 times in 13 ṛcās and we come to know that here also the name of the author has been made out from the sūkta itself.

Therefore, in all such cases, where I have thought the names of the original ṛṣis were lost and the present names have been supplied at a later stage, I have put the remark 'authorship doubtful' or D.

13. Abhivarta Āṅgīrasa (X, 174) D

Doubtful authorship. Abhivarta occurs in every ṛcā but not as an author.

14. Cyavana Bhārgava (X, 19) PR

He is a famous ṛṣi. He had married Āruṣi, a daughter of Manu (Mbh I, 66). He also married Sukanyā the daughter of Sāryāta Mānava. He is also connected with Pṛṣadhra another son of Manu. (*Vā*, 86, 1-2; *Bhāg*, IX, 2, 3-15) According to Purāṇas, he belongs to Pre-Rāma period

15. Syūmarasmi Bhārgava (X, 77, 78) PRP

16. Aruṇa Vaitahavya (X, 91) R

Son of Vaitahavya, a Bhārgava.

17. Iṭa Bhārgava (X, 171) D

18. Vasukarṇa Vasukraputrā (X, 65, 66) R

Sāyaṇa on X, 65, 15 says that this author was Vasiṣṭhakulaja. Therefore he is the son of Vasukra, who was the son of Vasiṣṭha.



19. Citramahās Vāsiṣṭha (X, 122) PRP

20. Pratna Vāsiṣṭha (X, 181) PRP

21. Aṣṭaka Vaiṣvāmītra (X, 194) R

He was the son of Viṣvāmītra by Mādnavi, the daughter of Yayāti (Mbh V, 116 ff) (See Yayāti Nāhusa)

22. Aghamarṣana Mādhucchandasa (X, 190) R

Son of Madhucchandasa and grandson of Viṣva-mītra.

23. Yama Vaiivasvata (X, 10; 14) PR (D)

Yama was the brother of Manu Vaiivasvata. X,10 is a dialogue between Yama and his sister Yamī. This Sūkta could not have been composed by Yama or Yamī. They are the characters not the authors. It is evident that author's name is lost and *Anukramanī* has put the names of Yama-Yamī as authors.

24. Yamī Vaiivasvati (X, 10; 154) (D)

See Yama. She is, according to Purānas the sister of Manu Vaiivasvata and Yama Vaiivasvata. As is said about Yama, she cannot be the authoress of X, 10.

25. Saṅkha Yāmāyana (X, 15) R

Son of Yama. One Yama was the father-in-law of Tamsu, who was Duṣyanta's grandfather and I take all these Yāmāyana's to be his sons.

26. Damana Yāmāyana (X, 16) R

27. Devaṣravā Yāmāyana (X, 17) R

28. Saṅkusuka Yāmāyana (X, 11) R

29. Mathita Yāmāyana ( X, 19 ) R

30. Vimada Aindra ( X, 20-26 )

One Vimada is referred to by Vatsa or Śaśakarna Āngirasa ( X, 9, 15 ), by Kaksivān ( I, 116, 1; 117, 20 ) and by Kutsa Āngirasa ( I, 112, 19 ). See Indra.

31. Vimada Prājāpatya ( X, 20-26 ) D

32. Vasukṛt Vasukraputra ( X, 20-26 )

He is the son of the Vasukra and grandson of Indra ( which see )

33. Vasukra Aindra ( X, 27; 29 )

34. Vasukra ṛsi ( X, 28, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, jointly with Indra ṛsi ) D

35. Indra ( I, 165, 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10-12; 170, 1, 3, 4; IV, 18, 1, 4; 26, 1-3; VIII, 100, 4, 5; X, 28, 3-5; X, 86, 1, 8, 11, 12, 14, 19-22.

Amongst the ṛsis is Indra and also members of his family. His wife is mentioned as Indrāṇī and her name is given as Sacī Paulomī i.e. the daughter of Pulomā. His son is named as Vasukra and his daughter-in-law is also mentioned as Vasukrapatni Indrasnuṣā. Again Indra himself is distinguished as Indra, Lava Indra, Vaikuṇṭha Indra, Muṣkavān Indra.

All this leads me to think that here Indra is not a deity but a human being. I think 'Indra' was a dynastic title. For instance, Rājī told the devas that if he won the dānavas or them he should become their 'Indra'. They agreed. Then he told the same thing to Dānavas but the Dānavas said 'asmākamindrah prahlādah' i.e. 'our Indra is Prahlāda.

( Br. II; 12 ff. ). This proves that Indra was a generic word for 'a king' If so there could have been many Indras and I think that the Indra and the members of his family who are named as ṛsis in the Anukramanī belonged to Rāma-period. That Indra, here, was not a diety but a king is indicated by the folllowing also.

(1) When Marutta Āvikṣita offered his Purohitaship to Br̥haspati, he said that he could not accept it as he was already the Purohita of Indra. This connects Br̥haspati Āngirasa, the brother of Samivarta with Indra.

(2) Indra tempted Ahalyā Here Indra cannot be a diety. As Rāmāyaṇa clearly says that Ahalyā succumbed to the temptation because Indra was a great personage (devarājakutūhalāt) See Rām I, 48, 15ff

(3) Sāyana, following Br̥haddevatā records a story about Gṛtsamada, which means that Gṛtsamada looked very much like Indra, so much so that the enemies Dhuni and Cumuri mistook him to be Indra. The whole story treats Indra as a contemporary personage.

(4) Sāyana on X, 38 says that according to *Saṭṭayana Brāhmaṇa*, Kutsa and Luṣa both called Indra, but Indra, because of friendship went to Kutsa etc. This also shows contemporaneity of Indra Kutsa and Luṣa.

(5) In *Rām* (VII, 55, 9 ff) Vasiṣṭha, at one place, says that he was already booked for the

sacrifice of Indra and therefore he could not accept the invitation of Nīmi to preside at his sacrifice<sup>1</sup>

(7) He is described as an intimate friend of Bhāṇvaya also. (*Brd* III, 142 ff)

In all these incidents Indra is treated not as a deity but as a contemporary of these different persons, and I think that we may take him as a ruler of some northern regions. In *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (39, 9) Uttara Kuru country is called 'Devakṣetra' and is looked upon with respect and awe. Indra seems to have been a king of these regions, having some allies in India proper.

If this is accepted, the hymns ascribed to Indra and his family will belong to Rāma-period. But I put the above as a mere hypothesis and therefore do not assign these hymns to any particular period.<sup>2</sup>

36. Indrasnuṣṇī Vasukrapatnī ( X, 28, 1 )

37. Indra Muṣkavān ( X, 38 or Luṣa; 48 )

In X, 38, 5 there is a reference to Kutsa.

38. Vaikuṇṭha Indra ( X, 48-50 )

39. Viṣākapi Aindra ( X, 86 )

१. वृतोहं पूर्वमिन्द्रेण अन्तर प्रतिपालय  
अनन्तरं महाविप्रो गौतमः प्रत्यपूरयत्,  
वसिष्ठोऽपि महातेजा इन्द्रयज्ञमवाकरत् ॥ VII, 51 ॥

2 Cp, "the descriptions, in the *RV*, of many of Indra's warlike exploits are such as already produce the impression of actually being the accounts given by eye-witness"—*Vitraka Indra* by R. N. Dandekar *ABORI* Vol XXXI, p. 29

40. Apratīratha Aindra ( X. 103 )
41. Indrāṇi ( X, 86 joint; 145 )
42. Laba Aindra ( X, 119 )
43. Indramātarah Devajāmayah ( X, 153 )
44. S'aci Paulomi ( X, 159 ) wife of Indra and daughter of Pulomā
45. Jaya Aindra ( X, 180 )
46. Trisīrā Tvāṣṭra ( X, 8 ) PR

According to Purāṇas Sukrācārya had a son named Tvāṣṭā, whose son was Trisīrā. Trisīrā was the brother of Viśvakarmā.

47. Sindhudvipa Āmbarīṣa ( X, 9 ) R  
Son of Ambarīṣa
48. Havīrdhāna Āṅga ( X, 11; 12 ) R  
Son of Āṅga. See Āṅga Aurva.
49. Vivasvat Āditya ( X, 13 ) PR  
Father of Manu Vaivasvata.
50. Kavaṣa Āilūṣa ( X, 30-34 ) R  
He refers to Kuruśravāṇa, the son of Trasadasyu in X, 33. 4
51. Akṣa Maujavata ( X, 34 ) D
52. Luśa Dhānāka : ( X, 35; 36; 38 or Indra Muśkavān ) R

Under I, 112, 23, Sāyana says that according to *Sātyāyana Brāhmaṇa* and *Chandoga Brāhmaṇa*, once both Kutsa and Luśa invoked Indra together and Indra went to Kutsa as he was his friend etc.

As Kutsa Āṅgīrasa is at Rāma-period, even Luśa is at Rāma-period.

53. Abhitapā Saurya ( X, 37 ) D

54. Ghoṣā Kākṣivati ( X, 39-40 ) R

She was the daughter of Kaksivān.

55. Suhastya Ghoṣāputra ( X, 41 ) R

Son of Ghoṣā and grandson of Kaksivān.

56. Saucika Agni ( X, 52; 53 (z); 79; 80 ) D

There is a reference to Nṛmedha. Authorship doubtful.

57. Bṛhadukta Vāmadevyā ( X, 54-56 ) R

Son of Vāmadeva of IV Maṇḍala.

58. Devāh ( X, 53 ) D

59. Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava ( X, 61, 62 ) R

Purāṇas call one Nābhānediṣṭha to be the son of Manu Varvasvata, But this ṛṣi refers to Suṣṇa and Kaksivān ( X, 61 ) and therefore clearly belongs to Rāma-period. Therefore he must be the son of some other Manu. Two Manus-Samvarāṇa Manu and Āpsava Manu—are Ṛgvedic ṛṣis.

60. Gaya Plāta ( X, 63, 64 )

One Gaya Ātreya is the auothor of V, 9-10. One Gaya was defeated by Māndhātā, (which see) and the same Gaya submitted himself to Rāvaṇa without opposition

61. Sumitra Vādhryasva. ( X, 69, 70 ) R

Son of Vadhryasva, therefore brother of Divo-dāsa. He refers to Vadhryasva in X, 69, 1 etc.

62. Brhaspati Lokya ( X, 72 )

63. Jaratkarṇa Āirāvata ( X, 76 )

Sāyaṇa calls him 'sarpajāteh' i. e. of Sarpa tribe.

64. Aditi Dākṣāyaṇī ( X, 72 ) PR (D)

Aditi is the mother of Vivasvat and the Adityas. Aditi herself is described in the Sūkta, which shows that the author is not Aditi.

65. Viśvakarmā Bhauvana ( X, 81, 82 )

This Viśvakarmā is distinct from Viśvakarmā Tvāṣṭra. References to Viśvakarmā seem to indicate that Viśvakarmā is not the author. He is also called Viśvamanā Bhauvana. A1 Br ( 39, 7 ) says that Kāśyapa had coronated ( Aindra Mahābhīṣaka ) Viśvakarmā Bhauvana. If this is Kaṇva Kāśyapa, this ṛṣi belongs to Rāma-period.

66. Sapti Vājambhara ( X, 79, 80 ) D

67. Manyu Tāpasa ( X, 83; 84 ) D

68. Sūryā Sāvitrī ( X, 85 ) D

69. Mūrdhavān Vāmadevya ( X. 88 ) R

He seems to be the son of Vāmadeva, who was an Āngirasa.

70. Nārāyaṇa ṛṣi ( X, 90 ) R

This is the author of the famous Puruṣasūkta. According to Pradhan ( CAI, 163ff ) this Nārāyaṇa being a contemporary of Nārada and Parvata belonged to Rāma-period. He had his Āshrama at Badari, the famous place of pilgrimage in the Himālayas.

71. Sāryāti Mānava ( X, 92 ) PR

He refers to Atharvā and Bṛ̥gus ( X, 92, 10 )

72. Tānva Pārtha ( X, 93 ) *PRP*

Tānva the son of Pṛ̥thu. He refers to himself as Tānva Pārthya in X, 93, 15 and Sāyaṇa there remarks युवनाश्वनामकस्य कुले पृथोः पुत्रः

73. Arbuda Kādraveya ( X, 94 ) *PR*

Arbuda the son of Kadrū. According to Purāṇas Kadrū was the wife of Kasyapa Marīca.

74. Pururavā Aila ( X. 95 jointly with Ūrvasī ) *PR (D)*

This is a dialogue between Pururavā and Ūrvasī and therefore they cannot be the authors of this hymn.

75. Ūrvasī ( see above ) *PR (D)*

76. Sarvaharī Aindra ( X, 96 ) *D*

The word 'Harī' occurs in one manner or the other 50 times in the thirteen ṛcās of this hymn. And this hymn is addressed to Indra. It is, I think, therefore that Sarvaharī Aindra is imagined to be the author. Baru may be the author.

77. Bhiṣak Ātharvaṇa ( X, 97 ) *Mbh*

Pradhan ( *CAI* p. 79 ) writes: 'Santanu Pratipa was a skilled physician and was for this reason, surnamed the great Bhiṣak ( =Mahābhiṣak *Mbh*, 50, 42-43; *Vā.* 99, 237-38 ). His reputation as a Bhiṣak or physician was so great that people believed whoever was touched by him, be he a chronic sufferer, was re-established in the health of a young



man. It has escaped the notice of all the pervious enquirers including even *Saunaka*, the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā* that the *Ṛgveda* contains compositions of *Santanu*. The great *Bhīṣak* composed 97th hymn of *Maṇḍala X*, and this composition has been inserted just before that of *Devāpi*."

However this *Bhīṣak* is called *Ātharvaṇa*. Again in *X*, 47, 9, the author calls himself a *Brāhmaṇa* ( विप्रः स उच्यते भिषक् ) but we may take *vīpra* to mean wise.

78. *Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa* ( *X*, 98 ) *Mbh*

He is *Devāpi* the brother of *Santanu*. ( see *CAI* p. 96 ff ).

79. *Vamru Vaikhānasa* ( *X*, 99 ) *R*

He refers to *Kutsa* and *Suṣṇa* ( *X*, 99, 9 ) and to *Ausṛja Ṛjivā* ( *X*, 99, 10 ),

80. *Duvasyu Vāndana* ( *X*, 100 ) *R*

*Vandana* is referred to by *Kutsa Āṅgīrasa* in *I*, 112, 15

81. *Budha Saumya* ( *X*, 101 ) *PR*

Son of *Soma* and father of *Pururavas*.

82. *Mudgala Bhārmyasva* ( *X*, 102 ) *R*

*Mudgala* is the grandfather of *Divodāsa*. He refers to his wife *Mudgalāni Indrasenā* ( *X*, 102, 2 ) who was the daughter of *Nala* and *Damayanti* ( *CAI* p. 3 ff )

83. *Sumitra* or *Durmitra Kutsa* ( *X*, 105 ) *R*

In X, 105, 11 are mentioned Sumitra, Durmitra and Kutsa-putra.

84. Bhūtāmsa Kāsyapa ( X, 106 ) *PRP*

Language is remarkably unusual.

85 Saramā-Paṇayah ( X, 108 ) *R*

These are not the authors as they are the characters of the dialogue In X, 108, 8 Ayāsyā Āṅgīrasa ( which see ) is mentioned as a contemporary.

In Rāmāyāṇa a Saramā is mentioned as the daughter of Sāliṣa Gandharva. She was married to Vibhiṣaṇa ( VII 12, 25 )

86' Jūhū Brahmajāyā ( X, 109 ) or Urdhvanābha Brahmaputra.

Brahmajāyā is referred to in X, 109, 1, 2 etc. Sāyaṇa on X, 109, 1 says:

अत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते । जुहुरिति वाङ्नाम । सा ब्रह्मणो जाया च । बृहस्पतेर्वाचस्पतित्वाद् बृहस्पतेर्जुहूनाम भार्या बभूव । कदाचिदस्य किल्बिषमस्या दौर्भाग्यरूपेणासांचक्रे । अत एव स एनां पर्यत्याक्षीत् । अनन्तरमादित्यादयो देवा मिथो विचार्यैनामकिल्बिषां कृत्वा पुनर्बृहस्पतये प्रादुरिति ।

If this is true Jūhū was the wife of Br̥haspati.

87. Ūrdhvanābhā Brāhma ( X, 109 ) *D.*

88. Rāma or Parasurāma Jāmadagnya ( X, 110 ) *R*

89. Āṣṭrādāñṣṭra Vairupa ( X, 111 ) *R*

He seems to be a son of Virūpa Āṅgīrasa. Virūpa belongs to Rāma-period. There is a reference to Āṅgīrasa in X, 111, 4

90. Nabhahprabhedana Vairupa ( X, 112 ) R

Son of Virūpa Angirasa and brother of Sataprabhedana Vairūpa.

91. Sataprabhedana Vairupa ( X, 113 ) R

He refers to Dabhīti, Dhuni and Cumuri ( X, 113, 9 ) who were Gr̥tsamada's contemporaries.

92. Sadhri Vairūpa ( X, 114 ) R

93. Gharma Tāpasa ( X, 114 ) D

94. Upastuta Vārṣṭihavya ( X, 115 ) R

Calls Agni 'kaṇvatama' and Kaṇvasakhā ( 5 ). In 9 it is said त्वा अग्नं वृष्टिहव्यस्य पुत्रा उपस्तुतासः ऋषयः अवोचन्, Later than Kaṇva.

95. Agniyuta or Agniyūpa Sthaura ( X, 116 ) D

96. Agniyūpa or Agniyuta Sthaura ( X, 116 ) D

97. Urukṣaya Amihayuputra ( X, 118 ) R

Son of Amihayu, ( which see ).

98. Bṛhaddiva Ātharvaṇa ( X. 120 ) PRP

In X, 120, 8-9 Bṛhaddiva Atharvā is mentioned as the author.

99. Hiranyagarbha Prājāpatya ( X, 121 ) D

In the first ṛcā Hiranyagarbha is mentioned as existing in the beginning. So the author must be some one else

100. Agni-Varuṇa ( X, 124 ) D

101. Vāk Āmbhṛni ( X, 125 ) PRP

See CAI p. 162.

102. Kulmalabarhiṣ Sailūsa (X, 126 )

In *Rāmāyaṇa* one Sailūsa Gandharva is mentioned as the father-in-law of Vibhiṣaṇa (VII, 12. 25 )

103. Āmhomuk Vāmadevya (V, 126 ) R

Son of Vāmadeva.

104. Kuśika Saubharī (X, 127 ) R

Son of Sobharī.

105. Parameṣṭhi Prajāpati (X, 129 )

106. Yajna Prājāpatya (X, 130 ) D

The contents of the hymn glorify Yajna i e. sacrifice. Therefore the author cannot be Yajna.

107. Sukirti Kākṣivata (X, 131 ) R

Son of Kakṣivān and grandson of Dirghatamas.

108. Sudās Paijavana (X, 133 ) R

109. Māndhātā Yauvanāśwva (X, 134 ) R

In chapter I it has been shown how he belongs to Rāma-period. In the Puranic genealogies he is put 30 to 40 generations before Rāma. But these genealogies are artificial and are based on Manvantara Caturyuga Method, which I have fully discussed in my *Puranic chronology*. (pp, 16 ff ) I here note some of the grounds on which Māndhātā has to be put at Rāma-period,

(1) According to the *Purāṇas*, Yuvanāśva, the father of Māndhātā had married Gauri the daughter of Matināra, who is just four generations above Divodāsa i e. Daśaratha and Rāmā.

(2) According to *Rāmāyaṇa* ( VII, 25 ) at Ma-thurā ruled a Daitya named Madhu. This Madhu had married Kumbhinasī, who was Rāvaṇa's mother's sister. ( VII, 25, 19 ff ) Madhu's son was Lavaṇa. Māndhātā was killed by this Lavaṇa ( VII, 67, 4 ff ). Again this Lavaṇa was killed by Satrugṇa the brother of Rāma ( VII, 63 ff ). Thus Māndhātā was not much removed from Rāma.

(3) According to *Mbh* ( VII, 62, 10 ) Māndhātā had defeated the following kings:—Janamejaya, Sudhanvā, Gaya, Purū, Brāhadratha, Asita and Nrga. (जनमेजय सुधन्वानं गयं पुरुं बृहद्रथम् । असितं च नृगं चैव मान्धाता मानवोऽजयत् ॥ ). Now we know that these kings lived at Rama-period thus. (a) Sudhanvā, king of Sāṅ-kāśya was killed by Janaka the father of Sitā ( *Rām*, I, 71, 8 ). (b) Brāhadratha escaped Paraśurāma ( *Mbh* I, 2, 272 ). (c) Gaya and Purū along with Duṣyanta and Gāthī submitted themselves to Rāvaṇa ( *Rām* VII, 19, 5 दुष्यन्तः सुरथो गार्धिर्गथो राजा पुरुवः । निर्जिताः स्मेत्यभापन्त ज्ञात्वा वरबलं रिपोः ). (d) Gaya is said to be the son of Amūrtarayas in the *Mbh* and Āmūrtarayas was Viśvāmītra's great uncle, being Kuśa's son ( *Rām*, I, 32, 3 ).

(4) According to *Mbh* ( XII, 65, 122 ). Utathya and Vasuhoma had given a discourse to Māndhātā. This Utathya was the father of Dirghatamas.

(5) In *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is even said that Māndhātā and Rāvaṇa had fought an indecisive battle, but that Adhyāya is taken as interpolated ( *Rām* after VII, 23rd ).

(6) According to Purāṇas (Bd, 73, 81) Māndhātā was taken as the 5th avatāra of Viṣṇu. It is said पंचम. पचदश्या तु त्रेताया सबभूव ह । मान्धाता चक्रवर्तित्वे तस्यो-  
तथ्यपुरःसरः ॥ i. e. Māndhātā was the fifth avatāra, with Utathya as the Priest. Vy, Bd, Ag have the reading Utathya. Mat reads Uttanka, which is incorrect. Thus Māndhātā had Utathya as his Purohita (Purassara).

(7) According to Gopatha Brāhmaṇa Māndhātā received knowledge from Vicārin, the son of Kabandha Ātharvana (Vedic Index 2, 133). Was this that Kabandha whom Rāma met?

110. Godhā (X, 134, 6-7 (jointly with Māndhātā) R.

111. Kumāra Yāmāyana (X, 135)

Sāyaṇa suggests that this Kumāra was Naciketas.

112. Jūti Vātarasana (X, 136 with others) PRP

113. Vātajūti Vātarasana (X, 136 with others) PRP

114. Viprajūti Vātarasana (X, 136 with others) PRP

115. Vṛṣāṇaka Vātarasana (X, 136 with others) PRP

116. Karikrata Vātarasana (X, 136 with others) PRP

117. Etasa Vātarasana (X, 136 with others) PRP

118. Rṣyaṣṛiga Vātarasana (X, 136 with others) PRP

119. Aṅga Aurava (X, 138) R

Son of Uru He refers to Kutsa (X, 138, 11) Pipru and Rjśvā (X, 138, 3)

120. Viśvāvasu Gāndharva (X, 139) D  
 121. Agni Pāvaka (X, 140) D  
 122. Agni Tāpasa (X, 141) D  
 123. Jaritā Sārnga, with Droṇa, Sārisṛkka and Stambamitra (X, 142) *Mbh*

In *Mbh* (XIII, 53, 21-22) it is said that a Brāhmaṇa named Mandapāla had by a S'ūdrā woman named Sārngī, four sons who were Brahmavādins and that they prayed to Agni. Their names were Droṇa, Stambamitra, Sārisṛkka and Jaritāri. As Pradhan (CAI p. 167) has said "these four Sārngas had escaped when Arjuna burnt the Khāṇḍava forest" (*Mbh* I, 254, 47).

124. Droṇa Sārnga (X, 142) *Mbh*

See Jaritā Sārnga

125. Sārisṛkka Sārnga (X, 142) *Mbh*

See Jaritā Sārnga

126. Stambamitra Sārnga (X, 142) *Mbh*

See Jaritā Sārnga

127. Atri Sāṅkhya (X, 143) R

He refers to Kakṣivān (X, 143, 1)

128. Suparna Tārksya (X, 144)

129. Ūrdhvakṛṣṇa Yāmāyana (X, 144)

130. Devamuni Airandama (X, 146)

131. Suvedā Sairiṣa (X, 147)

132. Pṛthu Vainya (X, 148) PR

133. Arcat Hairanyastūpa (X, 149) R

Son of Hīranyastūpa, which see.

134. Sraddhā Kamāyani (X, 151) D

135. Sasa Bharadvāja (X, 152) PRP

136. Sīrimbiṭha Bharadvāja (X, 155) R

Son of Bharadvāja.

137. Ketu Agniputra (X, 156) D

138. Bhuvana Āptya (X, 157) D

139. Sādhana Bhauvana (X, 157) D

140. Cakṣu Saurya (X, 158) D

141. Pūrana Vaisvāmītra (X, 160) R

142. Yakṣmanāśana Prājāpatya (X, 161) D

143. Rakṣohā Brāhma (X, 162) D

144. Vivṛhā Kāsyapa (X, 163) PR D

145. Kapota Nairṛti (X, 165) D

146. Ṛṣabha Vairāja (X, 166) D

147. Ṛṣabha Śakvara (X, 166) D

148. Anila Vātya (X, 168) D

149. Sabara Kākṣivata (X, 169) R

Son or descendent of Kākṣivan.

150. Vibhrāt Saurya (X, 170) D

151. Ūrdhvagrāvā Ārbudī (X, 175) D

152. Sūnu Ṛbhuputra (X, 176) D

Seems to be the deity and not the author

153. Patanga Prājāpatyā (X, 177) D

He does not seem to be the author.



## 154. Ariṣṭanemi Tārṅsya ( X, 178 )

He does not seem to be the author. Verse I says अरिष्टनेमिं पृतनाजमाशुं स्वस्तये तार्क्ष्यमिहा हवेम, which shows that Ariṣṭanemi is the diety.

## 155. Sibi Ausinara ( X, 179 ) R

According to *Mbh* ( V, 116 ff ) Sibi was the son of Uśinara by Mādhavi who was the daughter of Yayāti. Yayāti gave this Mādhavi as a gift to Gālava the son of Viśvāmitrā and Gālava married her by turn to Haryasva (by whom she had Vasumanā), Divodāsa (by whom she had Pratardana), Uśinara (by whom she had Sibi) and to Viśvāmitra (by whom she had Aṣṭaka).

156. Vasumanā Rauhidasva ( X, 179 ) jointly, with Sibi and Pratardana. See Sibi Ausinara.

157. Pratha Vāsiṣṭha (X, 181 jointly with Sapratha Bhāradvāja and Gharma Saurya) R

158. Sapratha Bhāradvāja (X, 181, jointly with Pratha Vasiṣṭha and Gharma Saurya) R

159. Gharma Saurya (X, 181, jointly with Pratha Vāsiṣṭha and Sapratha Bhāradvāja) D

## 160. Tapumūrdhā Bārhaspatya ( X, 182 ) D

This does not seem to be the author. Word Tapumūrdhā occurs (3), not as an author, but as a deity.

## 161. Prajāvān Prājāpatya ( X, 183 ) D

## 162. Tvaṣṭā ( X, 184 )

The author seems to be unknown. Contents show that this is a prayer for garbhadhāraṇa for

which Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭa and others are invoked. therefore they are not the authors.

163. Viṣṇu Prājāpatya (X, 184) *D*

164. Satyadhṛti Vāruṇi (X, 185) *D*

165. Ula Vātya (X, 186) *D*

Sūkta addressed to Vāta. उत वात पितासि न उत  
आतोत नः सखा । IX, 186, 2 Authorship doubtful.

166. Vatsa Agniputra (X, 187) *D*

167. Syena Agniputra (X, 188) *D*

168. Sārparājñi (X, 189) *D*

169. Saṁvanana Āngirasa (X, 191) *PRP*

Following ṛṣis are already dealt with earlier. Figures outside the brackets indicate the Maṇḍala and the number of the ṛṣi where he is dealt with. Figures within the brackets indicate the sūktas composed by the ṛṣi, in this Maṇḍala.

1. Bandhu, V, 9 (X, 57-60) *R*
2. Subandhu, V, 10 (X, 57-60) *R*
3. Srutabandhu, V, 11 (X, 57-60) *R*
4. Vasubandhu, V, 12 (X, 57-60) *R*
5. Trita Aptya, VIII, 52 (X, 1-7) *PR*
6. Jamadagni, VIII, 66 (X, 137; 167) *R*
7. Kṛṣṇa Āngirasa, VIII, 39 (X, 42-44) *R*
8. Vatsapri Bhālandana, IX, 39 (X, 45-46) *PR*
9. Ayāśya Āngirasa, IX, 5 (X, 67, 68) *R*
10. Gaurivīti Śāktya, V, 40 (X, 73-74) *R*

11. Pāyu Bhārdvāja, VI, 3 ( X, 87 ) R
12. Reṇu Vaisvāmītra, IX, 19 ( X, 89 ) R
13. Mṛlika Vāsiṣṭha, IX, 33 ( X, 150 ) R
14. Viśvāmītra-Jamdagni, III, 1 ( XI 167 ) R
15. Vena Bhārgava, IX, 41 ( X, 123 ) PRP

Out of 169 ( + 15 = 184 ) ṛṣis 12 + ( 1 = 13 ) belong to pre-Rāma period, 55 ( + 14 = 69 ) to Rāma period, 23 to Post-Rāma period, 6 to Mbh period 48 are doubtful and 24 are unassigned. Out of 191 hymns 14 belong to pre-Rāma period, 79 to Rāma period, 16 to Post-Rāma period, 3 to Mbh period, 54 are doubtful and 26 are unassigned.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### CONCLUSIONS

#### Note 1 — Rāma-period

AN analysis of the ṛsis of the *Ṛgveda* shows that of any particular family, there are at the most five generations found included in the present compilation. Following are noteworthy families from this point of view

Utathya	Bṛhaspati	Mudgala	Prajāpati
Dirghatmā	Bharadvāja	Vadhryaśva	Samvaraṇa
Kaksivān	Vidatha	Divodāsa	Manu
Ghoṣā	Rjīśvā	Pratardana	Nahusa
Suhastya			Yayāti

Now, according to *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 38, 15), Pratardana the king of Kāśī (i. e. the son of Divodāsa) had come to greet Rāma Dāśarathī on the occasion of his coronation and we may take it that they were more or less of the same age. Again Utathya was Māndhātā's Purohita (see Māndhātā). This Māndhātā must have been killed by Lavaṇa when Rāma was about ten years old and Lavaṇa, in his turn, must have been killed about 40 years later by Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma as seems from *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uta-

rakāṇḍa). We may take it that Mandhatī, with his famous career must have died at the ripe old age of about 70 years. Taking that Utathya was about the same age as Māndhātā, we get about 70 years from Utathya to Rāma's birth. Now according to the generations set out above, Pratardana's (whom we have taken to be of the same age as Rāma) son is one of the latest ṛṣis. If we allow 50 years for this, then we may take for these five generations about 125-150 years.

These 150 years, I designate for the purpose of this book, as Rāma-period. Ṛṣis falling within these five generations I have called to belong to Rāma-period, and those who are known to be earlier than Mudgala I have called to belong to Pre-Rāma-period and all the others to belong to Post-Rāma-period.

Here I shall clarify one point. If, as has been seen, about 75% of the hymns of *Rv* were composed in Rāma-period, and if several of the Ṛṣis—particularly Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and Vāmadeva—were intimately connected with Daśaratha and Rama, it is rather surprising that there is no reference, in the whole of the *Rv* to Daśaratha, Rāma or Rama-Rāvaṇa battle.<sup>1</sup> I shall attempt an explanation of this situation.

It should be remembered that Daśaratha was not a very significant king in his days. Again *Rv* is not

1. H. C. Raychaudhry has noted that in *Rv* one Daśaratha is referred to in I, 126, 4 and one Rāma in X, 93, 14; but there is no indication to identify these with the heroes of Ramāyaṇa (*PHAL*, 5th ed p 101).

history. It is a book of prayers. Praises of patre are found mostly in the hymns of India and Aśvi. And the ṛṣis praised those incidents with which they were personally connected. Divodāsa's battle with Sambara was fought with the full support of Bharadvāja. Both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra were personally connected with the Dāśarājña battle. It is therefore that these incidents are referred to in Ṛgvedic hymns.

But the battle of Lanka was fought by Rāma when he was alone. None of the ṛṣis was with him. His allies were Vānaras and Ṛkṣas, not the ordinary Vedic kings. And as no ṛṣi was personally connected with this battle, no hymns were sung in praise of it. Of course, a life-history of Rāma was composed by Vālmiki but that was not Veda, that was itihāsa.

N. B. I have talked above about the Rāma-period but have given no date for the same. In this connection it should be remembered that this is not a question of the date of Rāmāyaṇa, but of Rāma. Rāma definitely lived some centuries before Yudhiṣṭhira. Date of Rāma, thus, will depend upon the date of Yudhiṣṭhira. Scholars assign Yudhiṣṭhira to 9th to 15th century B. C. and tradition to 3101 B. C.

In my *Puranic Chronology* p. 68ff, I have shown that according to Puranic calculations, the date of Yudhiṣṭhira's accession was 3201 B. C. and the date of Rāma, according to one calculation, was c. 3701 B. C. (p. 321). Purāṇas put about 30 generations between Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira.

## Note 2 — Joint Authors

In the *R̥gveda*, There are several verses and hymns for which joint authors are given in the Anukramaṇis. I suggest that joint authors were always contemporaries, more or less.

There are in all 49 hymns, where joint authors are given in the Anukramaṇis. Out of these, it is clear in Chapter Two that the authors of the following fifteen hymns were contemporaries:— III, 23; III, 36; V, 2; V, 27; VII, 33; VIII, 1; VIII, 2; IX, 101<sup>1</sup>; IX, 104; 106<sup>2</sup>; IX, 110; X, 28; X, 167; X, 179. In the case of the following 15 hymns, those who are given as the authors do not seem to be the actual authors of those hymns, but seem to be so named from the contents of the hymns:— I, 165; I, 170; IV, 18; VIII, 67; VIII, 100; IX, 86; X, 14; X, 28; X, 51; X, 53; X, 86; X, 95; X, 108; X, 124. Out of the remaining cases, the authors of I, 100 are called the sons of Vṛṣāgira and are therefore contemporaries, Ṛjīsvā, there is called Vārṣāgira and if it is true he is different from Ṛjīsvā the grandson of Bharadvāja, who is given as the joint author of IX, 98 with Ambarīṣa Vārṣāgira. In I, 126 Kaksīvān, Bhāvayavya and Romaśā, who are given as joint authors, were contemporaries as is clear from Brhaddevatā. Ṛṣis of IV, 43; V, 1; V, 24 and X, 57-59; VIII, 14; VIII, 71; VIII, 89 IX, 99; X, 136, X, 142 are apparently brothers and should, therefore, be

1. This has 3 or 4 generations as joint authors.

2. This has 3 generations as joint authors,

taken as contemporaries. For IX, 97 are given ṛṣis out of whom 11 are Vāsiṣṭhas and except Vas and Parāśara are brothers, while Parāśara Vasiṣṭha's grandson. Thus they are all contemporaries. Therefore, the remaining ṛṣi Kutsa also should be taken to be their contemporary. For IX are given Ambariṣa and Ṛjīśvā who are likely to be contemporaries. For IX. 108 out of six, Śakti Gauriviti are father and son. Ṛjīśvā and Ṛnañ were their contemporaries. Therefore the remaining two Āṅgīrasas are likely to be their contemporaries. For X, 134 and X, 181, are also likely to be contemporaries.

IX, 67; IX, 107; X, 137 are ascribed to Saptarṣi. For IX, 67 Sāyaṇa says.

आद्यतृचस्य भरद्वाज ऋषिः; द्वितीयस्य मारीचकाश्रयः; तृतीयस्य राहुर्गणो गोतमः; चतुर्थस्य भौमोऽत्रिः; पञ्चमस्य गाथिनो विश्वामित्रः; षष्ठस्य भार्गवो जमदग्निः; सप्तमस्य मैत्रावरुणिवर्षसिष्ठः सूक्तशेषगिरसः पवित्रो वासिष्ठो बोधो वा समुदितावृषी.

For IX, 107 Sāyaṇa says:

‘ त्वं सोमासि ’ ( क्र. सं. ९, ६, ) इत्यत्रोक्ता भरद्वाजकपाद्या सप्तर्षयः

For X, 137 Sāyaṇa says:

उत देवाः इति सप्तर्चं नवमं सूक्तमानुष्टुभं वैश्वदेवं भरद्वाजकश्यपगोतमत्रिविश्वामित्रजमदग्निवसिष्ठाः इति.

Thus under IX, 67 Sāyaṇa says that the Sptarṣi are 1. Bharadvāja, 2. Kaśyapa, Mārica, 3. Gota Rāhugaṇa, 4. Atri Bhauma, 5. Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruni. Now according to the thec



which I am advocating here, all these must be contemporaries. We know that five out of these seven are contemporaries. About Gotama Rāhugaṇa we do not know anything and he might have been their contemporary. But Kaśyapa Mārīca cannot be a contemporary of these five or six, who belong to Rāma-period. This Kaśyapa is the father of Vivasvat and grandfather of Manu Vaivasvata and is, thus, very early.

But I want to point out that though Sāyaṇa names Kaśyapa Mārīca as one of the Saptarṣis, Kātyāyana does not. *Sarvānukramanī* on IX, 61 says

त्व सोमासि द्वात्रिंशद्भद्राजः कश्यपो गोतमोऽत्रिंविंशमित्रो  
जमदग्निर्वसिष्ठ इति.

And on both IX, 107 and X, 137 Kātyāyana calls the authors as sapta ṛṣayah.

Thus it will be seen that Kātyāyana does not name Kaśyapa as Kaśyapa Mārīca and Gotama as Gotama Rāhugaṇa. We know that apart from Mārīca Kaśyapa, there was another Kaśyapa, who was the father of Avatsāra, Nārada and Arundhati the wife of Vasīṣṭha and, therefore, evidently it is he who is meant as one of the Saptarṣis. About Gotama, we do not know anything and this Gotama may be the son of Rāhugaṇa who may belong to Rāma-period. Dirghatamā also was called Gotama of Gautama.

All this, I think, makes it amply clear that the joint authors are always contemporaries.

# T A B L E

h = hymns  
r = isis

Maṇḍala	PR		R		PRP		Mbh		D		Un	
	h	r	h	r	h	r	h	r	h	r	h	r
I	3	1 (+2)	188	13 (+12)	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
II	—	—	43	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III	—	—	62	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV	2	2	56	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
V	—	—	42	21 (+1)	45	28	—	—	—	—	—	—
VI	—	—	75	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VII	—	—	104	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
VIII	8	4	68	44 (+2)	27	20	—	—	—	3	—	—
IX	21	3 (+3)	56	37 (+23)	13	7 (+2)	20	2	4	5	—	3
X	14	12 (+1)	80	56 (+14)	16	23	3	6	54	48	24	24
	48	22 (+6)	774	198 (+52)	101	78 (+2)	23	8	58	58	24	27

Total: h r  
1028 391

## Note 3 Ṛṣis ( Analysis )

## I

After, thus, making a study of the chronological position of the individual ṛṣis, we may, now, make an analysis of the results obtained. I have given, on the opposite page, a consolidated table for hymns and ṛṣis.

It shows that out of a total of 1028 hymns 48 were composed during Pre-Rāma period, 774 during Rāma-period, 101 during Post-Rāma period, 23 during Mahābhārata period, 58 are doubtful and 24 are unassigned. Again, out of a total of 391 ṛṣis, 22 belong to Pre-Rāma period, 198 to Rāma-period, 78 to Post-Rāma period, 8 to Mahābhārata period, 58 are doubtful names and 27 are unassigned.

## II

Now, *Mt*, *Bd* and *Vy* have preserved<sup>1</sup> a list of Ṛgvedic ṛṣis. I have given below this list from *Bd* and noted in the foot-notes variants from *Vy* and *Mt*. *Vy* does not give Viśvāmitras, Agastyas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.

1. *Vy* 59, 79ff; *Bd* II, 32, 86ff; *Mt* 145, 81ff.

Angiia	Dirghatama	Renu <sup>33</sup>
Vaidyaga <sup>1</sup>	Kaksivan	Purana
Bharadvaja	Bhrgu	Dhananjaya
Baskali <sup>2</sup>	Kavya <sup>22</sup>	Kasyapa
Rtavaka <sup>3</sup>	Praceta	Vatsara
Garga <sup>4</sup>	Reika <sup>23</sup>	Naidhruva <sup>34</sup>
Sini <sup>5</sup>	Atmavan	Raibhya <sup>35</sup>
Sankrti <sup>6</sup>	Aurva <sup>24</sup>	Asita
Purukutsa <sup>7</sup>	Jamadagni	Devala
Mandhata	Vida <sup>25</sup>	Atri
Ambarisa	Sarasvata	Arvasana <sup>36</sup>
Yuvanasva	Arstisena <sup>26</sup>	Syavasva <sup>37</sup>
Paurukutsa <sup>8</sup>	Yudhajit <sup>27</sup>	Gavisthira <sup>38</sup>
Trasadasyu <sup>9</sup>	Vitaṇavya	Avihotra <sup>39</sup>
Dasyuman <sup>10</sup>	Suvarhas	Purvatiṭhi
Aharya <sup>11</sup>	Vainya	Vasistha
Ajamidha	Prthu	Sakti
Tuksaya <sup>12</sup>	Divodasa	Parasara
Kapi <sup>13</sup>	Badhyasva <sup>28</sup>	Indrapramiti
Vrsadarbha <sup>14</sup>	Grtsa	Bharadvasu
Virupaksa <sup>15</sup>	Saunaka <sup>29</sup>	Maitravaruna
Kanva <sup>16</sup>	Visvamitra	Kundina
Mudgala	Devarata	Agastya
Utatnya	Udgala <sup>30</sup>	Drdhayu <sup>40</sup>
Sanadvaja <sup>17</sup>	Madhuchhanda	Vidhmavahs <sup>41</sup>
Vajasrava	Aghamarsana	Manu Vaivasvata
Ayasya <sup>18</sup>	Astaka	Pururava Aila
Cakravarti <sup>19</sup>	Lohita	Bhalandana
Vamadeva	Kata <sup>31</sup>	Vatsa
Asija <sup>20</sup>	Kola <sup>32</sup>	Sankila
Brhaduktha <sup>21</sup>	Devasrava	92 in all

1. Trita (Mt), Vedhasa (Vy). 2. Bhalandana or Iaksmāna (Mt). 3. Krtavata (Mt), Amata (Vy). 4. Gargya (Vy). 5. Seni (Vy), Smrti (Mt). 6. Sankrti (Vy). 7. Guruvita (Mt). 8. Purukutsa (Mt). 9. Svasrava (Mt). 10. Sadasyavan (Mt), Sadasyaman

[Contd. next page]

This list gives in all 92 ṛṣi—names. They say that there were 33 Angirās, 19 Bhṛguś, 13 Viśvāmitras, 7 Vasiṣṭhas, 6 Atris, 6 Kāśyapas, 3 Agastyas, 2 Kṣatriyas and 3 Vaisyas. A study of this list shows that several of these ṛṣis are found in the present Rv. Some names are doubtful. They are:—Under the Aṅgirās, Vaidyaga is given for Trita of Mt. We may therefore put Trita there. Sini may be read as Sibi. For Tukṣāya we may adopt Ṛṣabha (Vy). For Kapi we may adopt Kavi (Vy). For Vṛṣādarbha, we may take Pṛṣadhra who is a ṛṣi in the Rv. Virūpakṣa is Virūpa. Asiḥa may be taken as Auśiḥa, though Kakṣivān is given separately. Under Bhṛguś Gr̥tsa is Gr̥tsamada and Saunaka also

---

[ Continued

(Vy). 11. Asvabharya (Mt). 12. Utkala (Mt), Rṣabha (Vy). 13. Kavi (Mt), Bili (Vy). 14. Prasadava (Mt, Vy). 15. Virupa (Mt). 16. Kavya (Mt). 17. Saradvan (Mt), Bharadvaja (Vy). 18. Apasyaupa (Mt), Ayapya (Vy). 19. Sucitti (Mt), Suvitti (Vy). 20. Rsiḥa (Mt), Augaja (Vy). 21. Brhacchukla (Mt). 22. Kas-yapa (Mt). 23. Dadhica (Mt). 24. Unva (Mt). 25. Veda (Mt). 26. Adviseṇa (Vy). 27. Arupa (Vy), Cyavana (Mt). 28. Brahmavan (Mt); Prasvara (Vy). 29. Nabha (Vy). 30. Bala (Mt). 31. Bhrtakila (Mt). 32. Mambudhi (Mt). 33. Devarata (Mt). 34. Vibh-rama (Vy). 35. Nitya (Mt). 36. Ardhasvana (Mt), Arceisana (Vy). 37. Syamavan (Vy). 38. Nisthusa (Vy). 39. Karnaka (Mt), Valgutaka (Vy). 40. Drdha-dyamna (Mt). 41. Iddrabahu (Mt).

seems to refer to him. Under Viśvāmitras Udgala may be Utkila who is a ṛṣi. Devarāta who is given by *Mt* may be accepted. Under Kāśyapas Naidhruvi may be Nidhruvi and Raibhya Rebha. under Atris Arvasana may be read as Arcanānā as is suggested by *Vy*. Pūrvātithi is found in *Rv*, but as a Kāṇva. Under Agastyas Dṛḍhāyu is Dṛhlacyuta and Vidhma-vāha is Idhmavāhā. Under Vaisyas, Vatsa is Vatsapri. Thus it is found that out of 92 ṛṣis given here, 71 are represented in the present *Rv*. About the remaining 21, we cannot say anything definite as there is likelihood of their names having been corrupted in the present texts of the Purāṇas.

Out of these 92 names 11 seem to belong to Pre-Rāma period, Ārṣiṣeṇa, Asita and Devala to Mbh period and others to Rāma-period.

The present Ṛksaṁhitā has about 400 ṛṣis and this Puranic list gives only 92 names. This, I think, is due to the Puranic list giving the names of the ṛṣis and not of the ṛṣikas and ṛṣiputras. Purāṇas distinguish between ṛṣis, ṛṣika (son of a ṛṣi) and ṛṣiputra (son of a ṛṣika). *Brahmaṇḍa* closes this list with the following remark:— ṛṣiputrānnibodhata. (II, 32, 122).

### III

This study of the Ṛgvedic ṛṣis and their families brings out a significant fact that the Āṅgīrasa family is the most prominent family amongst the composers of the present *Rv*. We learn that Utathya and Bṛhaspati were brothers. Again Bṛhaspati and Saṁ-

varta were brothers, and all these three were Āṅgīrasas. Again we know that Ghora was an Āṅgīrasa I would, therefore, say that Bṛhaspati, Utathya, Samvarta and Ghora—these four were brothers and were Āṅgīrasas.

Now Bṛhaspati's son was Bharadvāja who is the ṛṣi of the Sixth Maṇḍala. Gr̥tsamada, the ṛṣi of the Second Maṇḍala was Bharadvāja's grandson Vāmadeva of the Fourth Maṇḍala is clearly declared to be an Āṅgīrasa. Kanva Ghaura was an Āṅgīrasa and thus Kānvas of the Eighth Maṇḍala will be originally Āṅgīrasas. I have already said that it was this Kanva who had adopted Kāśyapa gotra and it was his daughter Aiundhati who was married to Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruna. Thus Kāśyapas and Vasiṣṭhas had intimate family relations with Āṅgīrasas. Thus the ṛṣis of II, IV, VI, VII and VIII Maṇḍalas were Āṅgīrasas, in one way or the other. Moreover Mamatā, the mother of Bharadvāja was a Bhārgavi.<sup>1</sup> Thus Bhārgavas are related to the Āṅgīrasas. Again these Bhārgavas were related to Visvāmitra. In fact Visvāmitra's sister Satyavati was married to R̥cika Bhārgava, the father of Jamadagni.<sup>2</sup> If Mamatā, who is called Bhārgavi was descended from this Satyavati in any way, even Visvāmitra will be closely related to the Āṅgīrasas and so the Third Maṇḍala will be added to the above list. We do not know if Atriś of the Fifth Maṇḍala were, in any manner, related

1 *Brhaddevata* IV, 11.

2 *AIHT*, p. 266.

to the Āṅgīrasas or not. I shall not be surprised to find that Atri or his wife Anasūyā was related to the Āṅgīrasas. If so, the present R̥ksamihitā will be an Āṅgīrasa compilation. Even Agastya might have been related to the Āṅgīrasas.

These considerations have struck me as significant and I have noted them here for whatever they are worth.

#### IV

Pragiter has tried to make out a case<sup>1</sup> that all the prominent Vedic ṛṣis were connected with the Mānavas i. e. Aikṣavākus and not with any early Ailas. But, now that we know that practically all the ṛṣis belong to the age of Rāma or are later than Rāma, question of their being connected with the *early* Ailas does not arise. Thus his very starting premise is demolished.

About the chief ṛṣis of the present Saṁhitā we know this. Utathya was the Purohita of Māndhātā, an Aikṣavāku. Bharadvāja was the Purohita of Divodāsa, who seems to belong to the Lunar line. Later, Bharadvāja was adopted as his son by Bharata, who was an Aila king. Vāmadeva was definitely a priest of Aikṣavāku Daśaratha at Ayodhya. Vasiṣṭha, too, was Daśaratha's priest but he was also connected with Sudās of the Aila branch. Viśvāmitra was connected with Hariścandra, Daśaratha (Aikṣavākus) as also with Sudās of Aila branch. Gotama seems to be connected with Mithilā. Others are not known to have been connected with any big kings.

1. *AIHT* p. 303 ft



This would, therefore, mean that at the time when the great bulk of the present *RV* was composed i. e. at Rāma-period, ṛsis had relations with the kings of both the branches.

#### Note 4—Geography of *Ṛveda*

In the light of our findings in Chapter two, let us now, consider the extent of Vedic settlements during what we have called Rāma-period. when a large bulk of the present *RV* was composed.

Viśvāmitra of the Third Maṇḍala had originally his capital at Kanauj. His Ashrama, according to *Rāmāyaṇa* was between the Ganges and the Yamunā to the south of the place where the Sarayū met the Ganges. ( I, 24-29 ). He was connected with Kosala and Ayodhyā. Vāmadeva of the Fourth Maṇḍala was the Purohita of Daśaratha and lived at Ayodhyā. Atri Bhauma of the Fifth Maṇḍala had his Ashrama as is clear from *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>1</sup> at a day's journey from Citrakūṭa and just on the Northern outskirt of Daṇḍakaraṇya. Bharadvāja of the Sixth Maṇḍala had his Ashrama at Prayāga, where both Rāma and Bharata halted, as is abundantly clear from *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>2</sup>. Vasiṣṭha of the Seventh Maṇḍala lived at Ayodhyā. Kaṇva as is seen from *Mbh*<sup>3</sup> and *Sākuntala*<sup>4</sup> had his Ashrama in the Himālayan regions. So

1. See II, 119

2. *Ram*, II 55

3. *Mbh* I, *Sākuntalopākhyāna*.

4. In *Sakuntala* Kaṇva's Ashrama is placed in these regions.

did Bṛhaspati, the priest of the Indra live in those Northern regions. Dirghatamā lived with Saradvanta who had his Ashrama on the outskirts of Mithilā (*Rām* I, 48, 15). From there he was thrown into the river and he flowed to Anga regions where ruled Vali. Vali's sons Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma are said to have given names to those countries.<sup>1</sup> Finally, Agastya, one of the ṛṣis of RV, lived, according to *Rāmāyaṇa*, just half a Yojana away from Pañcavaṭi and Janasthānā.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, none of the prominent ṛṣis of the Ṛgveda had his permanent abode to the west of, say Delhi.

Divodāsā, Abhyāvartī Cāyamāna, Sudās, Śahadeva, Prastoka, Mudgala, Śrñjaya, Somaka—all these kings mentioned in RV ruled in North Pāñcālas or Kāśī regions.<sup>3</sup> Indrasenā, the wife of Mudgala was Nala's daughter<sup>4</sup> and Nala ruled over Niṣadha, a country situated at the foot of the Vindhya. Nala's friend Rtu-parṇa ruled over South Kosalas (at 11 hour's journey by horse-drawn chariot from Niṣadha) situated to the south of the Vindhya.<sup>5</sup> Māndhātā had been killed by Lāvāṇa in Matnūrā regions<sup>6</sup> and Mathurā was occupied by Satrugṇa after killing this Lavaṇa.<sup>7</sup> The famous battle of Divodāsa with Sambara took

1. *Rām* III, 13, 22.

2. *AIHT*, p. 115; *CAI*, p. 83.

3. *CAI*, p. 4-6

4. *CAI*, p. 203

5. *Rām* VII 67

6. *Rām* VII 63

7. *Rām* II, 9, 12.

place in the Daṇḍakāraṇya. Dāśarajna battle and the battle of Hariyūpiyā<sup>1</sup> took place on the banks of the Ravi. The island of Omkāreśvara on the Narmadā is called Māndhātā and that may have something to do with the great Māndhātā. Māhiṣmātī was established by Mahiṣmān Haihaya before Kārtavīrya and Paraśurāma but was re-established by Mucukunda who is removed from Māndhātā only by two degrees<sup>2</sup> Māndhātā's brother Haryasva, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> ruled over Surāṣṭra and Ānarta. Naraka, who was a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathī had conquered and colonised Assam.<sup>4</sup> Sibi Ausinara, a rṣi of RV ruled in the Punjab and probably in Gandhāra regions.<sup>5</sup> And Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyana had reached Lankā.<sup>6</sup>

That the main scene of the present R̥ksamhitā is not the Punjab but the valleys of the Ganges and the Yamunā should be clear from the above. Vas'ṣṭha Viśvāmītra, Vāmadeva, Bharata, and Dirghatama lived in these regions. Bharata, who was coronated

1 See my paper 'The date of Harappa' in the Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda Vol. I, No. 2. I have said that Harappā was a flourishing settlement of Vārasikha Asuras at Rāma-period.

2. See Purāṇas: Hr II, 38 ff.

3. Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda Vol. I, No. 1.

4. See my book *Puranic chronology*, pp. 235 ff

5. *AIHT*, p. 264

6. I follow shri P. S. Aiyar (author of Rāmāyana and Laṅkā) in locating Laṅka near Indrāṇā about 15 miles north of Jubbulpore.

by Dīrghatamā and who had adopted Bharadvāja as his son, had performed 55 sacrifices at a place called Vṛtraghna on the Ganges and 78 sacrifices on the banks of the Yamunā<sup>7</sup> So also Sahadeva Sarñjaya, the brother of Prastoka and uncle of Sudās had performed sacrifices on the banks of the Yamunā at a tirtha named Agnisiras (Mbh III, 88, 5). The great Māndhātā also had performed sacrifices on the Yamunā, where many ṛsis lived (Mbh III, 126, 26). Syāvāsava Āterya mentions Yamunā in RV V. 52, 17. Yamunā is also mentioned by Sindhukist (X, 15, 5) and by Vasiṣṭha (VIII, 18, 19). The Ganges is mentioned, in the RV. by Viśvāmitrā (III, 58, 6), by Saṁyu (VI, 45, 31) and by Sindhukṣit (X, 75, 5).

Thus the extent of Vedic settlements in the Rāma-period was from the Himalayas (Tibet?) in the North to Vindhya and Narmadā in the South and from Gāndhārī and Surāṣṭra in the West to Assam in the East, the centre being the Gangetic valley near Kāśī, Kosala, Prayāga and Videha

7. *1st. Br* 39, 9; *Sat. Br.* XIII, 5, 4, 13. Both quote

अटासप्ततिं भरतो दौषन्तिर्यमुनामनु ।

तंगायां वृत्रघ्नेऽवघ्नात्पञ्चपञ्चाशतं हयान् ॥

## CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page	Line	
19	28-30	Delete
23	14	56 <i>for</i> 46
23	15	58 <i>for</i> 48
32	23	Vitahavya
34	8	Read: refers to Kakṣivān Auśija in VIII, 18, 1
43	Top	Read: [ VIII, 42-51 ]
51	21	MAṆḌALA I
58	26	<i>for for</i> or
71	9	Their names
81	26	or <i>for</i> of

For III, 8 Ghora Āṅgīrasa, IX, 11 Kaṇva Ghaura and other Kāṇvas please note the following.

Pragātha Kāṇva is described as the son of Ghora Āṅgīrasa and brother of Kaṇva Ghaura. Pragātha says (VIII, 65, 12) that he received gifts from the son or grandson of Durgaha i. e. from Purukutsa or Trasadasyu, who are definitely at Rāma-period. Devātithi Kāṇva, the son of Kaṇva Ghaura refers to Kakṣivān (VIII, 4, 17). Medhātithi, the son of Kaṇva also refers to Kākṣivān Auśija (VIII, 18, 1).

Thus all these Kāṇvas and Kaṇva himself as well as Ghora belonged to Rāma-period. In Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Ghora Āṅgīrasa is said to have been a teacher of Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra (III, 17, 6)

In the light of the above evidence it becomes a question if this Kṛṣṇa is the same as the Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata or not. One Kṛṣṇa Āngirasa is the author of Rv. VIII, 85-87.

Under IX, 47 Yayāti Nāhuṣa add the following :

It should be noted that this Yayāti is not that Yayāti who was the great grandson of Pururavā. The name of the father of this Yayāti was also Nahuṣa, but this Nahuṣa is called Mānava i. e. the son of Manu, in the Anukramaṇi and this Manu, in his turn called the son of Saṁvarana. Therefore, this Yayāti was different from Yayāti the great grandson of Pururavā. He, thus can be a contemporary of Andhigu. It is this Yayāti, who gave his daughter Mādhavi ( *Mbh* V, 116ff) to Gālava, who married her in turn, to Haryaśva, Divodāsi, Usinara and Viśvāmitra. Therefore this Yayāti and other ṛṣis of this hymn belong to Rāma-period. This preserves the genealogy:—Yayāti—Nahuṣa—Manu—Saṁvarana—i. e. four generations

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## INDEX OF RṢIS

This section contains the names of all the rishis of the R̥gveda arranged alphabetically. Figures to the right indicate the sukta composed by the rishi and figures to the left indicate the number of the Mandala and the number of the rishi in that Mandala, where details about him are given in chapter Two. R=Rama-period; PR=Pre-Rama period, PPP=Post-Rama period; D=Doubtful. Those against whom no remark is put are unassigned.

- |          |  |    |
|----------|--|----|
| ix, 42   | Akrstāh Māṣāh, IX, 86, 1-10, 31-40   | D  |
| x, 51    | Aksa Maujavān, X, 34   | D  |
| 1, 13    | Agastya Maitrāvaruna, I, 165, 13-15, 166-169, 170, 2, 5; 171-178, 179, 3, 4, 180-191 | R  |
| i, 15    | Agastyaśisya, I, 179, 5, 6   | R  |
| v, 9     | Agastyasvasā, X, 60  | D  |
| x, 100   | Agni, X, 124, 2-4  | D  |
| ix, 51   | Agni Cākṣusa, IX, 106, 1-3, 10-14  | D  |
| x, 122   | Agni Tāpasa, X, 141  | D  |
| viii, 70 | Agni Pāvaka, VIII, 102, X, 140   | D  |
| x, 56    | Agni Saucika, X, 51, 2, 4, 6, 8; 52, 53, 4-5, 79-80                                  | D  |
| ix, 55   | Agnayah Dhisnyāh Aiśvarāh, IX, 109   | D  |
| x, 95    | Agniyuta Sthaura, X, 116   | D  |
| x, 96    | Agniyūpa Sthaura, X, 116   | D  |
| x, 100   | Agnivarunasomāh X, 124, 1, 5-9   | D  |
| x, 22    | Aghamaṣana Mādhucchandasa X, 190   | R  |
| x, 119   | Aṅga Anava X, 138  | R  |
| viii, 16 | Angīrasah Sahasram Vasurociṣah VIII, 34, 16-18                                       | D  |
| iv, 3    | Ajamīlha Saulotra IV, 43-44  | PR |

- ix, 44 Ajāh Prsniyah IX, 86 *D*
- v, 1 Atri Bhauma V 27; 37-43, 76-77; 83-86, IX, 67, 10-12; 86, 41-45 *R*
- x, 127 Atri Sāmkhya X, 143 *R*
- x, 64 Aditi Dākṣāyanī X, 72 *PR*
- ix, 56 Anānata Pārucchepī IX, 111 *R*
- x, 148 Anila Vātāyana X, 168 *D*
- ix, 50 Andhigu Śyāvāśvi IX, 101, 1-3 *R*
- viii, 49 Apālā VIII, 91 *PRP*
- x, 40 Apratirathah Andra X, 103
- x, 53 Abhitapā Saurya X, 37 *D*
- x, 13 Abhivarta Āṅgīrasa X, 174 *D*
- ix, 7 Amahīyu Āṅgīrasa IX, 61 *R*
- ix, 46 Ambarīsa Vārṣagīra I, 100; IX, 98 *R*
- ix, 5 Ayāśya Āṅgīrasa IX, 44-46, X, 67-68 *R*
- x, 154 Ariṣṭanemi Tārksya X, 178 *D*
- x, 16 Aruṇa Vaitahavya X, 91 *R*
- x, 133 Arcat Hairanyastūpa X, 149 *R*
- v, 27 Arcanānā Ātreya V, 63-64; VIII, 42 *R*
- x, 73 Arbuda Kādraveya X, 94 *PR*
- v, 24 Avatsāra Kāśyapa V, 44; IX, 53-60 *R*
- v, 18 Avasyu Ātreya V, 31 *R*
- v, 39 Aśvamedha Bhārata V, 27 *R*
- viii, 13 Aśvasūkti Kānvāyana VIII, 14-15 *R*
- x, 21 Aṣṭaka Vaiśvāmītra X, 174 *R*
- x, 89 Aṣṭādañstra Vairūpa X, 111 *R*
- ix, 22 Asita Kāśyapa IX, 5-24 *Mbh*
- viii, 22 Āyu Kāṇva VIII, 52 *PRP*
- viii, 50 Āsaṅga Plāyogī VIII, 1, 30-33 *R*
- x, 103 Amhomuk Vamadeya (X, 126) *R*

- x, 17 Ita Bhārgava X, 171 *D*  
 x, 35 Indra I, 165, 1-2, 4, 6, 8, 10-12; 170, 1, 3, 4;  
     IV, 18, 1, 4; 26, 1-3; VIII, 100, 4-5; X, 28,  
     2, 6, 8, 10, 12; 86, 1, 8, 11, 12, 14, 19-22.  
 x, 37 Indra Muṣkavān X, 38  
 x, 38 Indra Vaikuntha X, 48-50  
 ix, 27 Indrapramiti Vāsistha IX, 97, 4-6 *R*  
 x, 41 Indrāṇi X, 86, 2-6, 9, 10, 15-18, 145 *D*  
 viii, 14 Irimbithi Kānva VIII, 16-18 *PRP*  
 v, 6 Isa Ātreya V, 7-8 *PRP*  
 ix, 21 Idhmavāha Dārḍhacyuta IX, 26 *R*  
 ix, 6 Ucathya Āngirasa IX, 50-52 *R*  
 iii, 4 Utkila Kātya III, 15-16 *R*  
 ix, 30 Upamanyu Vāsistha IX, 97, 13-15 *R*  
 x, 93 Upastuta Vārṣṭihavya X, 115 *R*  
 x, 97 Uruksaya Āmahīyava X, 118 *R*  
 v, 31 Urucakri Ātreya V, 69-70 *PRP*  
 x, 75 Urvaśi K, 95, 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18  
     *PR (D)*  
 x, 165 Ula Vātāyana X, 186 *D*  
 viii, 62 Uśanā Kāvya VIII, 84, IX, 87-89 *PR*  
 ix, 13 Ūru Āngirasa IX, 108, 4-5 *R*  
 x, 129 Ūrdhvakrśana Yāmāyana x, 144 *R*  
 x, 151 Ūrdhvagrāvā Ārbudī x, 175 *D*  
 x, 87 Ūrdhvanābhā Brāhma X, 109 *D*  
 x, 6 Ūrdhvasadmā Āngirasa X, 108, 8-9 *R*  
 vi, 4 Ṛjivā Bhāradvāja VI, 49-52; IX, 98; 108,  
     6-7 *R*  
 i, 3 Ṛjraśva Vārsāgira I, 100 *R*  
 ix, 54 Ṛnañcaya IX, 108, 12-13 *R*

- x, 146 *Rsabha Vairāja X, 166 D*  
 iii, 2 *Ṛsabha Vaiśvāmītra III, 13-14, IX, 71 R*  
 x, 147 *Ṛsabha Śākvara X, 166 D*  
 x, 118 *Rsyasṅga Vātaraśana X, 136, 7 PRP*  
 viii, 61 *Ekadyu Naudhasa VIII, 80 R*  
 x, 117 *Etaśa Vātaraśana X, 136, 6 PRP*  
 v, 36 *Evayāmarut Ātreya V, 87 PRP*  
 ix, 40 *Kakṣivān Dairghatamasa I, 116-125, 126, 1-5; IX, 74 R*  
 ix, 11 *Kaṇva Ghaura I, 36; 43; IX, 94 R*  
 iii, 3 *Kata Vaiśvāmītra III, 17-18 R*  
 x, 145 *Kapota Nairrta X, 165 D*  
 x, 116 *Karikrata Vātaraśana X, 136, 5 PRP*  
 ix, 32 *Karnaśrut Vāsiṣṭha IX, 27, 22-24 R*  
 viii, 29 *Kali Prāgātha VIII, 66 R*  
 x, 50 *Kavaṣa Ailūsa X, 30-34 R*  
 ix, 36 *Kavi Bhārgava IX, 47-49, 75-79 PR*  
 viii, 54 *Kaśyapa Mārīca I, 99, VIII, 29, IX, 64; 67, 4-6; 91-92, 113-114; X, 137, 2 PR*  
 ix, 12 *Kutsa Āṅgīrasa I, 94-98, 101-115; IX, 97, 45-58 R*  
 vii, 4 *Kumāra Āgneya VII, 101-102 D*  
 v, 4 *Kumāra Ātreya V, 2 R*  
 x, 111 *Kumāra Yāmāyana X, 135*  
 viii, 33 *Kurusuti Kānva VIII, 76-78 PRP*  
 x, 102 *Kulmalabarhisa Śailūsi X, 126 D*  
 iii, 11 *Kuśika Aisīrathi III, 31 R*  
 x, 104 *Kuśika Saubhari X, 127 R*  
 viii, 32 *Kusīdī Kāṇva VIII, 81-83 PRP*  
 ii, 2 *Kūrma Gūrtsamada II, 27-29 R*

- ix, 15 Krtayaśā Āṅgīrasa IX, 108, 10-11 *R*  
 viii, 60 Kṛtṇu Bhārgava VIII, 79 *PRP*  
 viii, 25 Kṛśa Kānva VIII, 55 *R*  
 viii, 39 Kṛsna Āṅgīrasa VIII, 85-87; X, 42-44 *R*  
 x, 137 Ketu Āgneya X, 156 *D*  
 v, 7 Gaya Ātreya V, 9-10 *PRP*  
 x, 60 Gaya Plāta X, 63-64  
 vi, 2 Garga Bhāradvāja VI, 47 *R*  
 v, 3 Gavisthira Ātreya V, 1 *R*  
 v, 19 Gātu Ātreya V, 32 *R*  
 iii, 5 Gāthī Kauśika III, 19-22 *R*  
 ii, 1 Grtsamada II, 1-3, 8-28, 30-43, IX, 86,  
 46-48 *R*  
 viii, 71 Grhapatī Sahasahputra VIII, 102 *D*  
 ix, 2 Gotama Rāhūgaṇa I, 74-93, IX, 31; 67,  
 7-9 *R*  
 x, 110 Godhā X, 134, 6-7 *R*  
 viii, 48 Gopavana Ātreya VIII, 73-74 *R*  
 viii, 12 Gosūkti Kānvāyana VIII, 14-15 *R*  
 v, 40 Gaurīvīti Śāktya V, 29; IX, 108, 1-2, X,  
 73-74 *R*  
 x, 92 Gharma Tāpasa X, 114 *D*  
 x, 159 Gharma Saurya X, 181, 3 *R*  
 iii, 8 Ghora Āṅgīrasa III, 36, 10 *R*  
 x, 54 Ghosā Kāksivatī X, 39-40 *R*  
 ix, 52 Caksu Mānava IX, 106, 4-6  
 x, 140 Caksu Saurya X, 158 *D*  
 x, 19 Citramahā Vāsiṣṭha X, 122 *PRP*  
 x, 14 Cyavana Bhārgava X, 19 *PR*  
 viii, 68 Jamadagni Bhārgava III, 62, 16-18, VIII, 101;  
 IX, 62, 65; 67, 16-18; X, 137, 6, 167 *R*

- x, 45 Jaya Aindra X, 180  
 x, 63 Jaratkarna Airāvata X, 76  
 x, 123 Jaritā Śārṅga X, 142, 1-2 *Mbh*  
 x, 82 Jūhū Brahmajāyā X, 109  
 x, 112 Jūti Vātaraśana X, 136, 1 *PRP*  
 i, 1 Jetā Mādhucchāndasa I, 11 *R*  
 x, 160 Tapumūrdhā Bārhaspatya X, 182 *D*  
 x, 72 Tānva Pārthya X, 93 *PRP*  
 viii, 47 Tiraśei Āṅgīrasa VIII, 95-96 *R*  
 iv, 2 Trasadasyu Paurukutsya IV, 42; V, 27;  
 IX, 110 *R*  
 viii, 56 Trita Āptya I, 105, VIII, 47, IX, 33-34; 102;  
 X, 1-7 *PR*  
 x, 46 Trīśira Tvāṣṭra X, 8-9 *PR*  
 viii, 18 Trīśoka Kānva VIII, 45 *PRP*  
 v, 42 Tryaruna Traivrsna V, 27, IX, 110 *R*  
 x, 162 Tvaṣṭā Garbhakartā X, 184 *D*  
 x, 5 Dakṣinā Prājāpatyā X, 107 *D*  
 x, 26 Damana Yāmāyana X, 16 *R*  
 x, 5 Divya Āṅgīrasa X, 107 *PRP*  
 i, 10 Dīrghatamā Aucathya I, 140-164 *R*  
 x, 83 Durmitra Kautsa X, 105 *R*  
 x, 80 Duvasyu Vāndana X, 100 *R*  
 ix, 20 Dṛḷhacyuta Āgastya IX, 25 *R*  
 x, 43 Devajāmayah Indramātarah X, 153 *D*  
 x, 130 Devamuni Airammada X, 146  
 Devarāta Vaiśvāmītra (see Śunakśepa)  
 ix, 23 Devala Kāśyapa IX, 5-24 *PRP* (*Mbh.*)  
 iii, 6 Devavāta Bhārata III, 23 *R*  
 iii, 7 Devaśravā Bhārata III, 23 *R*

- x, 27 Devaśravā Yāmāyana X, 17 *R*  
 x, 58 Devāh X, 51, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; 53, 1-3, 6-11 *D*  
 viii, 3 Devātithi Kāṇva VIII, 4, 21 *R*  
 x, 78 Devāpi Ārṣṭisena X, 98 *PRP* (*Mbh*)  
 viii, 65 Dyutāna Māruta VIII, 96 *D*  
 v, 14-a Dyumna Viśvacarsani Ātreya V, 23 *PRP*  
 viii, 63 Dyumnika Vāsistha VIII, 87 *PRP*  
 x, 124 Drona Śārṅga X, 142 (*Mbh*)  
 ix, 51 Dvita Āptya IX, 103 *D*  
 v, 10 Dvita Mṛktavāhā Ātreya V, 18 *PRP*  
 v, 37 Dharuna Āṅgīrasa V, 15 *D*  
 x, 12 Dhruva Āṅgīrasa X, 173 *D*  
 x, 90 Nabhahprabhedana Vairūpa X, 112 *R*  
 vi, 8 Nara Bhāradvāja VI, 35-36 *R*  
 ix, 48 Nahusa Mānava IX, 101, 7-9 *R*  
 viii, 17 Nābhāka Kāṇva VIII, 39-42 *R*  
 x, 59 Nābhānedīstha Mānava X, 61-62 *R*  
 viii, 11 Nārada Kāṇva VIII, 13, IX, 104-105 *R*  
 x, 70 Nārāyana X, 90 *R*  
 ix, 25 Nidhruvi Kāśyapa IX, 63 *PRP*  
 viii, 16 Nipātithi Kāṇva VIII, 34, 1-15 *R*  
 viii, 41 Nrmedha Āṅgīrasa VIII, 89-90, 98-99, IX, 27, 29 *R*  
 viii, 67 Nema Bhārgava VIII, 100 *PRP*  
 viii, 64 Nadhā Gautama I, 58-64, VIII, 88, IX, 93 *R*  
 x, 153 Patanga Prājāpatya X, 177 *D*  
 x, 105 Parameṣṭhī Prajāpati X, 129  
 ix, 35 Parāśara Śāktya I, 65-73; IX, 97, 31-44 *R*  
 i, 9 Parucchepa Daivodāsi I, 127-139 *R*  
 viii, 10 Parvata Kāṇva VIII, 12, IX, 104-105 *R*

- ix, 9 Pavitra Āṅgīrasa IX, 67, 22-32, 73, 83 *PRP*  
 x, 88 Paraśurāma Jāmadagni X, 110 *R*  
 vi, 3 Pāyu Bhāradvāja VI, 75, X, 87 *R*  
 viii, 6 Punarvatsa Kānva VIII, 7 *R*  
 viii, 38 Purumiḷha Āṅgīrasa VIII, 71 *R*  
 iv, 4 Purumiḷha Sauhotra IV, 43-44 *PR*  
 viii, 42 Purusamedha Āṅgīrasa VIII, 89-90 *R*  
 x, 74 Purūrava Aila X, 95, 1, 3, 6, 8-10, 12, 14, 17 *PR*  
 viii, 36 Puruhanmā Āṅgīrasa VIII, 70 *PRP*  
 viii, 20 Pustigu Kānva VIII, 50 *PRP*  
 viii, 46 Pūtadaksa Āṅgīrasa VIII, 94 *PRP*  
 x, 141 Pūrana Vaiśvāmītra X, 160 *R*  
 v, 9 Pūru Ātreya V, 16-17 *PRP*  
 i, 11 Prthu Vainya I, 148 *PR*  
 viii, 26 Prṣadhra Kānva VIII, 56 *R*  
 v, 33 Paura Ātreya V, 73-74 *PRP*  
 viii, 9 Pragātha Kānva VIII, 1, 1, 2, 10, 48; 62-65 *R*  
 x, 10 Pracetā Āṅgīrasa X, 164 *PRP*  
 x, 105 Prajāpati Paramesthi X, 129  
 iii, 10 Prajāpati Vācyā III, 38; 54-56; IX, 84 *R*  
 iii, 9 Prajāpapati Vaiśvāmītra III, 38, 54-56; IX, 101 *R*  
 x, 161 Prajāvān Prājāpatya X, 183 *D*  
 ix, 45 Pratardana Kāśīrāja IX, 96; X, 179, 2 *R*  
 v, 21 Pratiksatra Ātreya V, 46 *PRP*  
 v, 24 Pratiprabha Ātreya V, 49 *PRP*  
 v, 23 Pratibhānu Ātreya V, 48 *PRP*  
 v, 22 Pratiratha Ātreya V, 47 *PRP*



- x, 20 Pratha Vāsistha X, 181 *PRP*  
 v, 38 Prabhūvasu Āṅgīrasa V, 35-36; IX, 35-36 *PRP*  
 v, 12 Prayasvantah Ātreya V, 20 *PRP*  
 viii, 69 Prayoga Bhārgava VIII, 102 *PRP*  
 viii, 19 Praskaṇva Kānva I, 44-50; VIII, 49; IX, 95 *R*  
 viii, 33 Priyamedha Āṅgīrasa VIII, 2, 1-40; 68; 69; 87; IX, 28 *R*  
 v, 43 Bandhu Gaupāyana V, 24, 1, V, 24, X, 57-60 *R* [Laupāyana]  
 v, 17 Babhru Ātreya V, 30 *R*  
 x, 4 Baru Āṅgīrasa X, 96 *PRP*  
 v, 32 Bāhuvṛkta Ātreya V, 44, 12; 71-72 *PRP*  
 viii, 45 Bindu Āṅgīrasa VIII, 94; IX, 30 *PRP*  
 v, 2 Budha Ātreya V, 1 *R*  
 x, 81 Budha Saumya X, 101 *PR*  
 x, 57 Brhaduktha Vāmadevya X, 54-56 *R*  
 x, 98 Brhaddiva Ātharvana X, 120 *PRP*  
 ix, 4 Brhanmati Āṅgīrasa IX, 39-40, X, 71-72 *PRP*  
 x, 62 Bṛhaspati Laukya X, 72  
 viii, 4 Brahmātithi Kānva VIII, 5 *R*  
 i, 5 Bhayamāna Vārsāgīra I, 100 *R*  
 vi, 1 Bharadvāja Barhaspatya VI, 1-30, 37-43; 53-74; IX, 67, 1-3; X, 137, 1 *R*  
 viii, 28 Bharga Prāgātha VIII, 60-61 *R*  
 i, 7 Bhāvayavya I, 126, 6 *R*  
 x, 7 Bhikṣu Āṅgīrasa X, 117 *PRP*  
 x, 77 Bhṛṣak Ātharvana X, 97 *Mbh*  
 x, 138 Bhuvana Āptya X, 157 *D*

- x, 84 Bhūtāñśa Kāśyapa X, 106 *PRP*  
 ix 37 Bhrgu Vāruni IX, 65 ; X, 19 *PR*  
 viii, 57 Matsya Sāmmada VIII, 67 *D*  
 x, 29 Mathitah Yāmāyana X, 19 *R*  
 ix, 17 Madhuechandāh Vaisvāmitra I, 1-10 ; IX, 1 *R*  
 ix, 53 Manu Āpsava IX, 106, 7-9  
 viii, 53 Manu Vaivasvata VIII, 27-31 *PR*  
 ix, 49 Manu Sāmvaraṇa IX, 101, 10-12 *R*  
 x, 67 Manyu Tāpasa X, 83-84 *D*  
 ix, 29 Manyu Vāsistha IX, 97, 10-12 *R*  
 1, 12 Marutah I, 165, 3, 5, 7, 9 *D*  
 viii, 24 Mātariśvā Kāṇva VIII, 54 *R*  
 x, 109 Māndhātā Yauvanāśva X, 134, 1-5 *R*  
 viii, 58 Mānya Maitrāvaruni VIII, 67 *R*  
 x, 82 Mudgala Bhārmyaśva X, 102 *R*  
 x, 69 Mūrahanvān Vāmadevya X, 88 *R*  
 ix, 33 Mrlika Vāsistha IX, 97, 25-27, X, 150 *R*  
 viii, 1 Medhātithi Kāṇva I, 12-13, VIII, 1, 3-29 ;  
 2, 1-42, 32, IX, 2 ; 41-43 *R*  
 viii, 23 Medhya Kāṇva VIII, 53, 57-58 *R*  
 viii, 2 Medhyātithi Kāṇva VIII, 1, 3-29, 3 ; 33 *R*  
 x, 142 Yakṣmanāśana Prājāpatya X, 161 *D*  
 v, 30 Yajata Ātreya V, 67-68 *PRP*  
 x, 106 Yajna Prājāpatya X, 130 *D*  
 x, 23 Yama Vaivasvata X, 10, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12,  
 14 ; 14 *PR(D)*  
 x, 24 Yamī Vaivasvatī X, 10, 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13,  
 154 *PR(D)*  
 ix, 47 Yayāti Nāhusa IX, 101, 4-6 *R*  
 viii, 70 Yaviṣṭha Sahasah Putrah VIII, 102 *D*

- x, 143 Raksohā Brāhma X, 162 *D*  
 ix, 3 Rahūgaṇa Āngirasa IX, 37-38 *R*  
 v, 29 Rātahavya Ātreya V, 65-66 *PRP*  
 ix, 19 Renu Vaiśvāmītra IX, 70 ; X, 89 *R*  
 viii, 66 Rebha Kāśyapa VIII, 97 *R*  
 ix, 26 Rebhasunū Kāśyapau IX, 99-100 *R*  
 i, 8 Romaśā I, 126, 7 *R*  
 x, 42 Laba Aindra x, 119  
 x, 52 Lusa Dhānāka X, 35-36 *R*  
 i, 14 Lopāmudrā I, 179, 1-2 *R (D)*  
 x, 166 Vatsa Āgneya X, 187 *D*  
 Vatsa Kāṇva VIII, 6 ; 11 *PRP*  
 ix, 39 Vatsapri Bhālandana IX, 68, X, 45-46 *PR*  
 x, 79 Vamru Vaikhānasa X, 99 *R*  
 x, 100 Varuna X, 124, 1, 5-9 *D*  
 v, 11 Vavri Ātreya V, 19 *PRP*  
 viii, 55 Vaśa Aśvya VIII, 46 *PRP*  
 vii, 1 Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruna VII, 1-32 ; 33, 1-9 ;  
 34-104 ; IX, 67, 90 ; 97, 1-3 ; X, 137, 7 *R*  
 vii, Vasiṣṭhaputrāḥ VII, 33, 10-14 *R*  
 ix, 10 Vasu Bhāradvāja IX, 80 82 *PRP*  
 x, 18 Vasukarna Vāsukra X, 65-66 *R*  
 x, 32 Vasukṛt Vāsukra X, 20-26  
 x, 34 Vasukra X, 28, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11  
 x, 33 Vasukra Aindra X, 27, 29  
 ix, 34 Vasukra Vāsistha IX, 97, 28-30 *R*  
 x, 36 Vasukrapatnī Indrasnuṣā x, 28, 1  
 x, 156 Vasumanā Rauhidaśva X, 179, 3 *R*  
 viii, 34 Vasurocisa Aṅgirasah Sahasram VIII, 34,  
 16-18 *D*

- v, 5 Vasuśruta Ātreya V, 3-6  
v, 15 Vasūyavah Ātreyaḥ V, 25-26 *PRP*  
x, 101 Vāk Āmbhrnī X, 125 *PRP*  
x, 113 Vātajūti Vātaraśana X, 136, 2 *PRP*  
iv, 1 Vāmadeva Gautama IV, 1-17; 18, 2-3, 8-13;  
19-41, 45-48 *R*  
x, 114 Viprajūti Vātaraśana X, 136, 3 *PRP*  
v, 46 Vipra(or Vasu)bandhu Gaupāyana V, 24;  
X, 57-60 *R* [Laupāyana]  
x, 30 Vimada Aindra X, 20-26 *R*  
x, 31 Vimada Prājāpatya X, 20-26 *R*  
viii, 35 Virūpa Āṅgīrasa VIII, 43-44; 75 *R*  
x, 49 Vivasvat Āditya IX, 13 *PR*  
x, 144 Vivrhā Kāśyapa X, 163 *D*  
x, 150 Vibhrāṭṭ Saurya X, 170 *D*  
viii, 40 Viśvaka Kārsnī VIII, 86 *R*  
x, 65 Viśvakarmā Bhauvana X, 81-82  
x, 65 Viśvamanī Bhauvan X, 81-82  
viii, 52 Viśvamanā Vairyaśva VIII, 23-26  
v, 16 Viśvavārā Ātreya V, 28 *PRP*  
v, 14 Viśvasāmā Ātreya V, 22 *PRP*  
iii, 1 Viśvāmitra Gathinah III, 1-12, 24-32; 33,  
1-3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13; 34-35; 36, 1-9, 11; 37-  
53, 57-62; IX, 67, 13-15; X, 137, 5 *R*  
x, 120 Viśvāvasu Gandharva X, 139  
x, 163 Viṣṇu Prājāpatya X, 184 *D*  
x, 8 Vihavya Āṅgīrasa X, 128 *PRP*  
vi, 9 Vītahavya Āṅgīrasa VI, 15 *R*  
v, 41 Vrśa Jāna V, 2 *R*  
ix, 28 Vṛṣagana Vāsiṣṭha IX, 97, 7-9 *R*

- x, 39 Vṛṣākapi Aindra X, 86, 7, 13, 23  
 x, 115 Vṛṣānāka Vatarasana X, 136, 4 PRP  
 ix, 41 Vena Bhārgava IX, 85, X, 123 PR  
 ix, 38 Vaikhānasāh Śatam IX, 66 R  
 Vyāśva Āngirasa VIII, 26 PRP  
 ix, 31 Vyāghrapād Vāsistha IX, 97, 16-18 R  
 vi, 5 Śamyu Bārhaspatya VI, 44-46; 48 R  
 x, 9 Śakapūta Nārmeda X, 132 R  
 vii, 2 Śakti Vāsistha VII, 32, 26-27; IX, 97, 19-21;  
 108, 3, 14-16 R  
 x, 25 Śankha Yāmāyana X, 15 R  
 x, 44 Śacī Paulomī X, 159 D  
 x, 91 Śataprabhedana Vairūpa X, 113 R  
 x, 149 Śabara Kāksivata X, 169 R  
 viii, 8 Śaśakarna Kānva VIII, 9 R  
 v, 51 Śaśvatī Āngirasi VIII, 1, 34 R (D)  
 x, 71 Śāryāta Mānava X, 92 PR  
 x, 135 Śāsa Bhāradvāja X, 152 PRP  
 x, 155 Śibi Ausinara X, 179 R  
 x, 136 Śrīmbitha Bhāradvāja X, 155 R  
 ix, 16 Śisu Āngirasa IX, 172 PRP  
 ix, 18 Śunahśepa Ājigarti I, 24-30, IX, 3 R  
 vi, 7 Śunahotra Bhāradvāja VI, 33-34 R  
 v, 26 Śyāvāśva Ātreya V, 52-61; 81-82; VIII, 35-  
 38; IX, 32 R  
 x, 167 Śyena Āgneya X, 188 D  
 x, 134 Śraddhā Kāmāyanī X, 151 D  
 viii, 43 Śrutakaksa Āngirasa VIII, 92 PRP  
 v, 45 Śrutabandhu Gaupāyana V, 24; X, 57-60 R  
 [Laupāyana]

- v, 28 Śrutavit Ātreya V, 62 *PRP*  
viii, 21 Śṛṣṭigu Kāṇva VIII, 51 *PRP*  
x, 169 Saṁvanana Āṅgīrasa X, 191 *PRP*  
v, 47 Saṁvarana Prājāpatya V, 33-34 *R*  
x, 11 Samvarta Āṅgīrasa X, 172 *R (D)*  
x, 28 Sankusuka Yāmāyana X, 18 *R*  
x, 160 Satyadhrti Vārūni X, 185 *D*  
v, 35 Satyaśravā Ātreya V, 79-80 *PRP*  
v, 20 Sadāprna Ātreya V, 44, 12; 45 *R*  
viii 7 Sadhvamsa Kāṇva VIII, 8 *R*  
x, 92 Sadhri Vairūpa X, 114 *R*  
x, 1 Saptagu Āṅgīrasa X, 47 *PRP*  
viii, 59 Saptavadhri VIII, 73 *R*  
v, 34 Saptavadhri Ātreya V, 78 *R*  
x, 66 Sapti Vajambhara X, 79-80 *D*  
x, 158 Sapratha Bhāradvāja X, 181, 2 *PRP*  
x, 85 Saramā X, 108, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11 *R*  
x, 76 Sarvahari Aindra X, 96 *D*  
i, 2 Savya Āṅgīrasa I, 51-57 *R*  
v, 13 Sasa Ātreya V, 21 *PRP*  
i, 4 Sahadeva Vārṣāgira I, 100 *R*  
x, 139 Sādhana Bhauvana X, 157 *D*  
x, 125 Sārisṛkka Śārṅga X, 142, 5, 6 *Mbh*  
x, 168 Sārparājñi X, 189 *D*  
ix, 43 Sīkatā Nivāvari X, 86, 11-20, 31-40 *D*  
x, 3 Sindhuṣit Prayamedha X, 75 *R*  
x, 47 Sindhudvīpa Āmbarīṣa X, 9 *R*  
viii, 44 Sukakṣa Āṅgīrasa VIII, 92-93 *PRP*  
x, 107 Sukīrti Kākṣivata X, 131 *R*  
v, 8 Sutambhara Ātreya V, 11-14 *PRP*